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# Anecdota Oxoniensia

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*THE VETUS CLUNIACENSIS OF POGGIO*

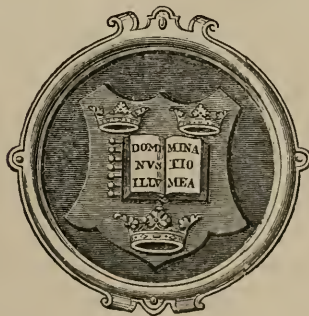
*BEING A CONTRIBUTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF CICERO  
PRO SEX. ROSCIO, PRO CLUENTIO, PRO MURENA  
PRO CAELIO, AND PRO MILONE*

BY

ALBERT C. CLARK, M.A.

*Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford*

WITH TWO FACSIMILES



Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1905

769

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Codex Paris. 4,749, olim S. Victoris  
(Cicero, pro Caelio, §§ 43-47)

iam etate extiterunt Ex quibus nemine in liquet no nuare. Vos sine  
uobiscum eecordamini. Solo enim cuiusqum fortis atqz illustre is  
uiri ne minimu quide exeat cum maxima laude coniungere. Qd  
si facere uelle nula ame sumi atqz ordmatissimi uiri pdicaret. <sup>al libet</sup> ¶ .d  
quoz parctm nimia libertas in adulescentia partim profusa lu  
xurios . magnitudinis alieni . suptr libidinis nominarentur. <sup>al pflura</sup> ¶ .d  
que multis postea uirtutibz obrecta . adulescentie qui uellet exu  
sacione defenderet . At u n .d . alio dita enim iam cofidentia <sup>al hoc</sup>  
de studiis eig honestas quonda audeo queda fecty uea sapia libe  
confiteri . nulla luxurios recipit . nulli suptr . nullu es alienum  
nulla conuiuoz ac listroz libido . qd quide uita uentris es qu  
ritas no in n minuit etas hominibz s etia auget . Amores at  
ez he delicie que uocant . qm fremore animo pditis dicitq mo  
leste non solent ee . mature enim et celebri deflorestut . Sumq  
hunc ortu pati impeditus tenuerut . Audistis cup se diceret . Au  
distis antea cum accusaret . Defendendi hec causa . no gloriadi

al ornatissimi

al obiecta

al quonia

al suptr

al q sumo genio pdito

al sic

sius uicibus. Sz inerat h me ppf beniuolentiā fore saltebat rano.  
et bonis acabz instituta & cura & uigiliis elaborata atqz ritate  
iudices. eas cupiditates que obicit eglio atqz her studia de qbus  
dispuito. no facile in eodē hoīe eē posse fieri enim nō potest. ut  
anīmqz libidini dedito amore desiderio. cupiditate. sepe nimia  
copiā. inopiā etiā nōnūqm impedito. hoc qēqd est qd nos frām  
inducendo quo qm agendo. ueeū etiā cogitando possit sustinere;  
An uos aliam causam eē illā pōtatis cur mitantis pmius eloquēte  
tanta uoluptate dicendi. tanta laude. tanta gratiā. tanto honore.  
tam sint pauca semppqz fuerit. qui in hor labore uee sent. Obrecon  
de sunt omīs uoluptates. uelīnquenda studia delectacionis. ludus.  
iocz. comūiū. sermo pque est familiarit de serendz. Quare  
hoc genere labore fiendi homines astudiorz detereet. n̄ q aut in  
genis deficiāt. aut doctrinā puerilis. An hic si se isti uite dedis  
set. consularē hominē admodū adolestis in iudiciū uocauiss;  
Hic si labore fuget. si obstricto uoluptatibz teneet. in hoc aae  
cotidie uesaret. appeteret inimicitias. in iudiciū uocaret. subī  
cet p̄nitiū cupitō. ipse inspectante. P̄. R. tot menses aut de salute

al' dispūtanū

al' que

al' qz nō faciunt nō nō agēdo

al' nūllā

al'

al' labor offēdit

al' nō al' lēo

al'

al' p̄

al' atqz

al' sepe enī a corp.

liant

al'

al' hōc mō

al' (100)



# Anecdota Oxoniensia

## THE VETUS CLUNIACENSIS OF POGGIO

BEING

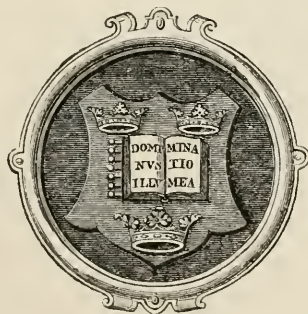
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‘QUEMADMODUM mala ab Appio e Claudia gente Appiana et pira a Manlio Manliana cognominata sunt, sic haec litterarum semina quae vestra ope et opera e Germania in Italiam deferetis aliquando et Poggiana et Monte-Politiana vocabuntur.’

F. BARBARUS ad POGGIUM.



TO  
JAMES S. REID

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OF CAMBRIDGE



## INTRODUCTION

AMONG the discoveries made by Poggio in the course of his famous mission to the Council of Constance were a number of speeches of Cicero new to Italian scholars. I extract from Voigt a convenient summary of the facts as at present known<sup>1</sup>.

'The excursions which Poggio made into France appear to have preceded his investigations in German monasteries. If in the latter case he has to share with others<sup>2</sup> the credit of his discoveries, he was, so far as we know, without a companion in France. And it was precisely in France that he succeeded in making a substantial addition to the writings of Cicero, which since the time of Petrarch had been sought for with peculiar ardour. He found at Cluni<sup>3</sup> an ancient MS. much damaged, which contained among other speeches of Cicero those for Sextus Roscius and for Murena. Both were unknown previously, and both appear to have been preserved to the world only through the discovery of Poggio. He rescued the MS. from impending destruction, and sent it to Florence, where Guarino and Barbaro struggled to decipher those passages which were now in a desperate condition from mildew. A second and still richer discovery of no less than eight new speeches was made by Poggio at Langres on the Marne, the old town of the Lingones. He was not able to obtain possession of the old MS., but it is from the transcript which he made that the various copies made by his friends in Florence and Venice are

<sup>1</sup> *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, i. p. 242, ed. 3 (Berlin, 1893).

<sup>2</sup> I.e. Bartolommeo da Montepulciano, his colleague and travelling companion (*ib.*, pp. 235, 237) and Zomino (Sozomenus) of Pistoia (*ib.*, p. 236).

<sup>3</sup> The famous Abbey in Burgundy, twenty-three kilometres north of Mâcon, destroyed by the Huguenots in 1562.

derived, and it is through these only that some of the speeches have been preserved, while others have since been discovered in other MSS. The ancient MS. of Langres has now disappeared.'

It is not my purpose on this occasion to discuss the second group of speeches, viz. *pro Caecina*, the three orations *de lege agraria*, *pro Rabirio Postumo*, *pro Rabirio perduellionis reo*, *pro Roscio Comoedo*, and *in Pisonem*. I would merely remark that in my opinion modern writers go too far in attributing to the whole of these a common origin. This statement has been made on the strength of two colophons found in certain MSS. which contain the second *sylloge*<sup>1</sup>. The first of these occurs at the end of the *pro Caecina*, which is placed first in the collection, and runs thus:

'Hanc orationem antea culpa temporum deperditam Poggius Latinis viris restituit et in Italiam reduxit, cum eam diligentia sua in Gallia reclusam in silvis Lingonum advenisset conscripsissetque ad Tullii memoriam et doctorum hominum utilitatem.'

After this come the other speeches, seven in all, with the following colophon at the end of the *in Pisonem*, which comes last:

'Has septem M. Tullii orationes, quae antea culpa temporum apud Italos deperditae erant, Poggius Florentinus perquisitis plurimis Galliae Germaniaeque summo cum studio ac diligentia bibliothecis, cum latentes comperiisset in squalore et sordibus, in lucem solus extulit, ac in pristinam dignitatem decoremque restituens Latinis Musis dicavit.'

It appears to me that both colophons are to be taken quite literally. It is only for the *pro Caecina* that provenance from Langres is claimed. The other seven speeches were found in French or German libraries, the names of which are not given. It has hitherto been supposed that the final colophon referred to the whole *sylloge*, and that the author of it wrote *septem* for *octo*, supposing that the speeches *pro Rabirio perduellionis reo* and *pro Roscio Comoedo*, both of which are fragmentary, were taken to be one oration<sup>2</sup>. This is a violent interpretation, and contrary to the plain meaning of the colophons. I fear,

<sup>1</sup> The best known of these is a MS. (Laur. Conv. Soppr. 13) formerly known as *codex S. Mariae*, described by Bandini, ii. 431 on Laur. xviii. 7. Cf. Mittarelli, *Bibliotheca S. Michaelis*, p. 254; Halm, *Handschriftenkunde der Ciceron. Schriften*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Mittarelli, l. c.

therefore, that the very convenient title of *Lingonenses*<sup>1</sup> given to the whole of the *sylloge* is not justified by the facts.

I now return to the Cluni MS. The date of the discovery is fixed by a letter of Leonardo Bruni to Poggio, dated Jan. 2, 1415, in which he says<sup>2</sup>:

‘Tu nuper in Gallia orationes duas M. Tullii, quas nostra secula numquam viderant, tua diligentia perquasitas reperisti.’

The place is known from several passages in the letters of Poggio<sup>3</sup>, who speaks of ‘*orationes Tullii . . . quas detuli ex monasterio Cluniacensi*,’ and of ‘*orationes meae Cluniacenses*.’ The illegible condition of the MS. is described by Guarino, who remarks upon the lacuna in *Rosc.* § 132<sup>4</sup>:

‘Quod factum est situ et exemplaris vetustate quod vir doctissimus Poggius ex Gallis ad nos reportaverat, qui et huius orationis et alterius pro Murena repertor hac actate fuit. Ut autem clarissimus et doctissimus vir F. Barbarus dicere et deplorare solet, occaecatum adeo exemplaris codicem, unde haec exarata est oratio, Florentiae viderat, ut nullo pacto inde transcribi verbum potuerit.’

That the MS. contained other speeches besides the *pro Roscio* and *pro Murena* appears from an inquiry made by Poggio when writing to Niccolo Niccoli: ‘*Orationes meas Cluniacenses potes mittere. . . Scribas mihi quae orationes sunt in eo volumine praeter Cluentianam, pro Roscio, et Murena*’<sup>5</sup>. No one appears to have drawn attention to an entry in the twelfth-century Catalogue of Cluni<sup>6</sup>, in which occurs:

‘496. Cicero pro Milone et pro Avito et pro Murena et pro quibusdam aliis.’

It is highly significant that this, the only mention of the *pro Murena* in the mediaeval Catalogues, should occur at the place where this speech was found by Poggio. The further fact that the *pro Cluentio* was found in the Cluniacensis of Poggio, and in the MS. described, is strong confirmatory evidence that Poggio’s MS. was no other than No. 496 in the Cluni Catalogue. If so, it must also have contained the *Miloniana*.

<sup>1</sup> R. Sabbadini, *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, vii. p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *Epistulae*, ed. Mehus, iv. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Epistulae*, ed. Tonelli, i. pp. 100, 153.

<sup>4</sup> Guarino’s commentary upon the *Rosciana* is printed among a number of similar works, *In omnes M. Tullii Ciceronis doctissimorum virorum Enarrationes*, Basileae, 1553, pp. 82–101. Halm, who quotes this passage from a Paris MS. (Lat. 7832), does not seem aware of this.

<sup>5</sup> Tonelli, i. 153.

<sup>6</sup> Delisle, *Cabinet des MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 478.

Of the history of the MS. after its arrival in Italy little is known. Niccolo Niccoli retained it, like many other of Poggio's books<sup>1</sup>, and was very reluctant to let it out of his hands. Poggio after his return to Italy from England wished to consult it. He writes to Niccoli to this effect on Nov. 6, 1423<sup>2</sup>, and repeats the request in a letter dated June 14, 1425<sup>3</sup>, in which he says that he is intending to have a copy of Cicero's speeches made by his own scribe. The writer was to be an ignorant Frenchman<sup>4</sup> whom he was training, who was then employed upon a copy of Spartianus. The Cluniacensis arrived in Rome, where Poggio was, in 1427<sup>5</sup>, and in Nov. 1428 Niccoli was clamouring for its return<sup>6</sup>. Poggio sent it back to Niccoli by Pier Candido Decembrio with a letter dated December 13, 1429, in which he says 'ut obsequar voluntati tuae mitto ad te per Candidum nostrum antiquum illud volumen Orationum Tullii<sup>7</sup>.' Nothing is known of its fate after this date.

I have been at pains to put together the first-hand evidence concerning the lost Cluniacensis, from which all existing copies of the *Rosciana* and *Mureniana* are derived, since it is obvious that, if the inquiry into the pedigree of its descendants is to be followed by any degree of success, the method pursued must be historical. The best example of such a method is to be found in Kiessling and Schoell's Preface to Asconius, an author discovered by Poggio at St. Gallen in 1416. It is there shown that three transcripts were made, viz. by Poggio himself, by Sozomenus of Pistoia, and by Poggio's colleague, Bartolommeo da Montepulciano. By a comparison of these it is possible to fix the readings of the *Sangallensis*, and to distinguish from them the corrections and conjectures of the Italians. In the case of Cicero's speeches, however, a wholly unscientific method has been followed. The MSS. have been not weighed but numbered. This was first done by the learned Jesuit, Lagomarsini, who denoted by numbers the Florentine MSS. which he employed, without attempting to discriminate between them. A similar method was adopted by the collators of various Oxford MSS., the readings of which were published in the large Clarendon Press edition issued at the end of the eighteenth

<sup>1</sup> Tonelli, i, 303.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 153.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, 'Habeo . . . Gallicum qui parum novit. Hoc utar.'

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, 159.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, 265, 273.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, 294.

century, and by Steinmetz, who collated Paris MSS. Thus we read in Baiter-Halm of 13 Lagg., 4 Parr., 6 Oxx., and are bewildered.

The result of this faulty method is that undue attention has been paid to late and sophisticated MSS. on the ground that they contain correct or plausible readings, where other MSS. are confessedly corrupt. Thus Zumpt, finding in Lag. 9 a number of such readings, claimed for it, without offering any external evidence for his assertion, special connexion with Poggio. It is, however, now agreed that it is deeply tainted by conjecture, and quite unreliable. Halm, who refuted Zumpt, ought to have made some inquiry into the credentials of a MS. which figures largely in his *Apparatus Criticus*, viz. *S* (Monacensis 15,734), the lateness of which is sufficiently clear from the fact that it contains two recensions of the *Rosciana*. It will be shown in the course of this discussion that *S* represents the last results of Italian criticism, and that it has incorporated into the text a large collection of variants and conjectures previously found in the shape of *marginalia*.

In the case of one MS., which is considered by all modern critics to be the best authority for the *pro Roscio* and *pro Murena*, viz. Wolfenbuttel. 205, termed *G* by Halm, and *W* by other editors, the historical method has been followed, but with very unsatisfactory results. The peculiarity of this MS. is that it is written in a French, not in an Italian hand, and that in these speeches it contains a number of strange corruptions, faulty divisions, and unusual spellings, which show that it reproduces an ancient and illegible archetype, where the Italian copyists resorted to correction and emendation. Its *fides* therefore is regarded as superior to that of the Italian copies. This MS., which I prefer to call *W*, was collated by Fleckeisen for Halm, who puts it first, and recollated by Wrampelmeyer, who laboured to prove that all other MSS. containing these speeches were copied from it. His method of argument is curious. In addition to a number of speeches of Cicero *W* contains certain speeches delivered by a certain *Iohannes Ioffridus de Luxorio* (i. e. Luxeuil). These are in a different hand, but the writer of them has inserted corrections in the text of Cicero. Wrampelmeyer infers that both portions of the MS. were written by monks of Luxeuil. He goes on to argue that, as it was copied at Luxeuil—not in Italy, but in France—it must have been written before Poggio removed the original. Further, he says ‘it is the oldest copy of these speeches,

Cod. Wolfenbuttelanus (*W*).

all others having been written in the middle or towards the end of the fifteenth century.' The only evidence which he gives for this sweeping statement is that the Monacensis of Halm is confessedly late, and that a particular Paris MS. (7,777) is said to have been written in 1466. 'Not only,' he proceeds, 'is it the oldest, but it is the only source of information.' The absurdity of this statement was pointed out by Iwan Müller<sup>1</sup>, who showed that the Italian copies contained a number of passages clearly genuine which were omitted by *W ex homoeoteleuto*. After an angry controversy Wrampelmeyer was reduced to the lame explanation that when he spoke of the 'only source,' he meant the best source, and said that 'in this sense he held *W* to be the source of the other MSS.'<sup>2</sup> He compensated himself for this admission by reiterating his statement that *W* was 'the oldest of all MSS., having been copied at Luxeuil from the MS. afterwards discovered by Cardinal (!) Poggio, and that to all appearance it belonged to the middle of the fourteenth century.' He did not notice, and strangely enough it was not pointed out to him by his critics, that, in addition to the speeches of Cicero, *W* contains written in the same hand works of two contemporaries of Poggio, viz. Leonardo Bruni and Valla, the latter of whom was not born until 1407: or that *Iohannes Ioffridus de Luxorio* is no unknown person, but the famous Cardinal Jean Jouffroy, one of the greatest ecclesiastics and diplomatists of his day, and a younger contemporary of Poggio (b. 1412, d. 1473)<sup>3</sup>. In spite, however, of these absurdities, it is held by all modern scholars that in some mysterious way *W* is an independent copy of the Cluni MS. This belief, as we shall soon see, is not without foundation. The readings of *W* receive certain support from a *codex S. Victoris* used by Lambinus, and from two of the Paris MSS. employed by Steinmetz, 6,369 and 7,777. Nohl rightly ranks these with *W*, and denotes the three by the symbol *a*.

Excerpta  
Montepo-  
litiana.

I now proceed to some results of my own investigation. A flood of light is thrown upon the subject by a MS. in the Laurentian Library (LIV. 5). This contains (i) Asconius with colophon recording the discovery of the author, signed by Bartolommeo da Montepulciano,

<sup>1</sup> Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, 1874-5, pp. 687, 688, and 1878, pp. 212-5.

<sup>2</sup> Wrampelmeyer, *Codex Wolfenbuttelanus*, pars v, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. Fierville, *Le Cardinal Jean Jouffroy et son temps*, Paris, Hachette, 1874.



(ii) 'Expositio Antonii Luschi in orationes IV Ciceronis, (iii) a collection of Excerpts from certain speeches of Cicero. The MS. is said by Kiessling and Schoell to be in the hand of Bartolommeo. I have elsewhere remarked that this is an error<sup>1</sup>. The hand is that of a calligrapher, quite different from that of Bartolommeo, which is preserved in another MS., also in the Laurentian Library (Gadd. LXXX. *sup.*, 42), containing works written by him at Constance. Also, the writer is an ignorant person, whose knowledge of Latin was very limited. Further, the text of Asconius contains a number of corrections found in the margin of Poggio's copy, which Bartolommeo appears to have borrowed from his more brilliant colleague. I, therefore, concluded that the rough copy made by Bartolommeo had been transcribed by a calligrapher who reproduced his colophon. The truth of this conclusion is proved by an examination of the Excerpts. These are thus described by Bandini:

f. 100<sup>b</sup> Cic. oratt. fragmenta et initia anepigraphica. (1) 103 *pro Milone*; (2) 104 *pro M. Caelio*; (3) 107<sup>b</sup> *pro Rosc. Amerino*; (4) 108<sup>b</sup> *pro Murena*; (5) iterum *pro M. Caelio*; (6) *pro Cluentio*; (7) rursus *pro Murena*; (8) 117 iterum *pro Cluentio*; (9) iterum *pro Rosc. Amerino*.

My attention was attracted by the occurrence among these fragments of passages from the *Rosciana* and *Mureniana*, and I thought it probable that these might throw light upon the text of these two speeches. Who was so likely to have had access to the Cluniacensis as Poggio's colleague in the work of discovery, Bartolommeo da Montepulciano? I also noticed that among these passages were excerpts from the *Cluentiana*, which we know from the evidence of Poggio himself to have been in the Cluniacensis, and the *Miloniana*, which, if the MS. discovered by Poggio was that described in the ancient Catalogue, must also have been among its contents. The *Caeliana* was the only speech which there was no previous reason for connecting with the Cluni MS. Was this taken from the same or from another source? The truth was immediately manifest when I examined these Excerpts, of which I proceed to give an account.

They begin with citations from *Mil.* § 1, f. 100 v, l. 25, immediately after the *Inquisitio Antonii Luschi*. No titles are given to any of the

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Review*, xiii, p. 123.

Excerpts, and the writer frequently passes without warning from one speech to another. The passages from the *pro Milone* are succeeded f. 102 r, l. 10 by very scrappy quotations from the *pro Roscio*, §§ 52-135. After these, at the foot of f. 135 v, come excerpts from the *pro Caelio*, §§ 74-80; then follow a fresh set of citations from the *pro Roscio*, §§ 1-47, succeeded by quotations from *Cacl.* §§ 13-74, and so on. It is obvious that the scribe has copied dislocated leaves from the note-book of Bartolommeo.

Frequently there is a dislocation inside a set of excerpts. Thus a quotation from *Rosc.* § 108 is placed between others from § 109. Similarly words are often given in the wrong order; thus *Mur.* § 7 *nihil . . . a consule postulandum* appears as *postulandum nihil . . . a consule*. The ignorance of the writer is as transparent as his *bona fides*. We find such slips as *an scribi*=anseribus, *putetitis*=putetis, *cecessaria*=necessaria, *cruditissimus*=eruditissimus, *negligenticntiae*=negligentiae, *fagile*=fragile, *viderenturū*=viderentur. He reproduces a number of abbreviations, e.g. *aud.*=audacia, *d.*=di, *u. i.*=vultum intuebantur (*Clu.* p. 549, 28), these abbreviations being especially frequent at the end of the excerpt, e.g. *Clu.* § 188, p. 596, 39 *cogita. effec.*=cogitaverit, effecerit; *Cacl.* § 6, p. 1002, 12 *a. i. m.*=ac iudicio meorum. Obviously he copied what he had before him without attempting to understand it.

The method which guided Bartolommeo in making his excerpts is difficult to grasp. Sometimes he wrote out long passages, especially at the beginning or end of a speech, e.g. the whole of the last five sections of the *pro Milone*: sometimes they are very brief, consisting of a sentence, a portion of a sentence, or of a single word. The citations from the *pro Sex. Roscio* are the most scrappy, e.g. § 52, he makes three excerpts of single words, *levia*—*inepta*—*nugatoria*. One can only suppose that he copied whatever interested him, whether this was a passage, a phrase, or the use of a word. There are indications that sometimes he found the original difficult to read. Thus *Cacl.* § 41 *coniveret* is omitted *in lacuna*; *Clu.* § 29 for *de eo de quo* we find *de eo . . . quo* in the MS. The character of the excerpts is the same throughout, and it would be unreasonable to doubt that they were all taken from one MS. This MS. can only have been the Cluniacensis, which therefore must have included the *pro Caelio* in addition to the *pro Sex. Roscio*, *pro Cluentio*, *pro Murena*, and *pro Milone*.

I now turn to a subject of great interest, viz. the affinities of the Cluniacensis as revealed by these excerpts. This question does not arise in connexion with the *pro Sex. Roscio* and *pro Murena*, since they are known from no other source, while this is not the place to discuss the relation of Bartolommeo's citations to the extant MSS. I take first the speech *pro Cluentio*.

In the case of this speech two things are at once obvious: (i) that the Cluniacensis was not one of the *codices mutili*; and (ii) that it agrees with the so-called *melior familia*, i. e. two fifteenth-century MSS., *ST*, as against the eleventh century *M* (Laur. LI. 10). Modern criticism of the *Cluentiana* has travelled upon the lines laid down by Classen. He first pointed out the superiority of the recension found in *ST*, and distinguished between two classes of *deteriores*, viz. the *integri* and the *mutili*, the latter being derived from Laur. LI. 10. His distinction between *mutili* and *integri* is very unscientific, since a vulgar MS., if supplemented from the *melior familia*, would, apart from such supplements, remain vulgar. He does not inquire into the genesis of *ST*, though their sudden appearance in the fifteenth century without any visible ancestor must appear curious. I would remark that *S*, which is the better of the two, is the same MS. as that which Halm in the *pro Sex. Roscio* and *pro Murena* terms *M*, and which in those speeches represents the last results of Italian criticism.

That the Cluniacensis was not one of the *mutili* is clear. The lacunae which characterize *M* (Laur. LI. 10) and its descendants are §§ 102-107 *om. egimus . . . ornamenta*, §§ 127-132 *om. quis est qui . . . standum*, §§ 149-154 *om. omnibus hic . . . accusatur*, §§ 176-182 *quasi ut . . . P. Saturii*, §§ 192-end *cum instructum . . . veritati*. That the Cluniacensis was free from any of these mutilations is shown by the fact that the excerpts contain extracts from all the passages omitted by *M*.

The agreement of the excerpts, which I term *B*, with *ST* may be seen from the following examples:

- § 11 facile 'om. ST et Quintil.' Bait.: so B.
- § 12 non pudicitia 'om. ST': so B.
- § 27 Teani Apuli] 'Teano ST': so B.
- § 29 de eo de quo] 'de ante v. quo om. ST': so B *in lac.*
- § 32 secundis 'recte om. ST': so B.
- § 40 circumforaneum] 'foranum ST': so B.
- § 41prehendisset] 'prendidisset ST': so B.

- § 42 at mater] 'at ST, attamen *cell*': at B.  
 § 94 residuis] 'repetundis ST': so B.  
 § 125 abortione ST (*T e coll. mea*), so B: potione *cell*.

On several occasions *B* agrees with *S* against *T*, e. g.

- § 30 reliqua iam *BS*: iam reliqua *cell*.  
 § 43 ei deo] ideo *BS*: adeo *T*.  
 § 124 a Cluentio aliquid *BS*: a Cluentio *T*: aliquid a Cluentio *cell*.  
 § 139 omnes enim illae *BS*: omnes enim *T*: omnes enim illae orationes *cell*.  
 § 141 essem *BS*: essemus *cell*.

I have not observed agreements of *B* with *T sol*.

In the *pro Caelio* *B* contains a number of variants from the ordinary text, but its affinities could not be determined from the *Apparatus Criticus* of Halm. It was interesting to find that it agrees with the Turin palimpsest (*T*) on three occasions: § 39 si qui] si quid *TB*; ib. convivia] convivium; § 41 aut prolapsione] ac prolapsione *TB*: once with the Ambrosian palimpsest (*A*) § 73 homini *AB*, vivo *cell*.: while § 59 it confirms the conjecture of Orelli *mihī* ('ibi *PEG*: urbi *S*').

It also gives readings quoted previously from *S*, the late Italian MS. so frequently mentioned in this discussion, e. g. § 32 fratrem *BS* and *Claudius Sacerdos*: fratre *PEG* and *Rufinianus*; § 51 insidiandis *BS*: insidiantis *G*: insidiantes *PE*; § 76 significant *BS*: significat *PE*: significatur *G*.

In spite of the goodness of these readings I was not prepared to find that the tradition of this speech in the Cluniacensis was of such excellence as it will shortly be shown to have been.

In the case of the *pro Milone* the results were alike manifest and surprising. The Cluniacensis appeared to be a *gemellus* of Harl. 2,682, the MS. upon which my own revision of the text of this speech was based. That it was characterized by the same lacuna as *H*, which omits §§ 18-37 *cruentata . . . paene inter-*, is shown by the fact that the excerpts stop at § 17 and go on again at § 39. Everywhere there is the closest agreement. Thus in §§ 1 and 2 it has *<veterem> consuetudinem, collocata, <terroris> aliquid, nec <enim>, orationi, iustissimi*, all readings characteristic of *H*. For further instances it is only necessary to glance at the collation.

It is now obvious that it was from the Cluniacensis that the supplements and marginalia were drawn which appear in the margin of several Italian fifteenth-century MSS. and are incorporated in *S*.

I venture to quote the words which I employed nine years ago in my edition of this speech, when I said, after analysing the readings of *S* :

‘The natural conclusion to draw from these facts is that in the fifteenth century there was in circulation a collection of variants taken from Transalpine sources, which gradually became embodied in the Italian MSS., *S* being the most highly corrected member of the family.’

It was in consequence of the information gained by my examination of Bartolommeo’s excerpts that I was enabled to realize the importance of a MS. which I shortly afterwards consulted in the Paris Library. This MS. Lat. 14. 749, which I term  $\Sigma$ , originally belonged to the Abbey of St. Victor, and was written by a French scribe at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Attention was first drawn to it by Mr. Fausset<sup>1</sup>, who only examined it for the speech *pro Cluentio*. He gave reasons for supposing that it was the *codex S. Victoris* used by Lambinus<sup>2</sup>, an identification with which I agree: and showed that in the *pro Cluentio*, although the text itself was copied from a vulgar MS., the marginalia and supplements are drawn from the *melior familia*, of which *ST* are the accredited representatives.

On glancing at the speeches *pro Sex. Roscio* and *pro Murena* I noticed a remarkable phenomenon, viz. that in many places the first scribe had left a lacuna, which had been afterwards filled up by a second person writing at a different angle. The words inserted by the second hand were nearly always a corruption of some kind, a strange spelling or a *vox nihili*. Frequently the writer drew what was meant to be a facsimile of something in the original, sometimes adding a fresh attempt in the margin. Upon my showing the MS. to M. Omont he said at once, ‘Oh, this is very curious. The writer had before him a very ancient and illegible MS. When he came to things which he could not read, he left a lacuna. Then he and another monk put their heads together, and they inserted a facsimile of what was in the original.’

A point which further attracted my attention was that these insertions by the second hand in  $\Sigma$  generally occurred where a strange corruption was reported from *W*, and that in such cases  $\Sigma$  often gave a simpler form of the corruption. Thus, to take a striking instance :

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Review*, xiv, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> It had previously been used by Sylvius for his edition of the *pro Cluentio*, Paris, 1530.

*Mur.* § 10 quod dandum est amicitiae] Here the first hand omitted *quod*, leaving a lacuna. The second writer inserts *cauod*—*c* and *q* being not infrequently interchanged in the Cluniacensis. *W* has *cano*.

The essential difference between  $\Sigma$  and *W* is, that in *W* there are no lacunae, or insertions by a second hand, but that the writer of *W* copied throughout one MS. without fresh reference to the original. It became clear at once that *W* is posterior to  $\Sigma$  and derived from it. The claim advanced on behalf of *W*, viz. that it is an independent copy of the Cluniacensis, made before Poggio removed this to Italy, is true of  $\Sigma$ .

The authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale with characteristic generosity consented to lend  $\Sigma$  to the Bodleian Library for my use. I was thus enabled to make a minute examination of it, the results of which I now set forth.

That *W* is derived from  $\Sigma$  is beyond all possible doubt. This is shown by the surest of all tests, viz. the fact that passages omitted by *W* repeatedly occupy exactly one line in  $\Sigma$ . Four cases occur in the *pro Murena*, viz. § 5 mihi . . . defendendis non *om.* *W*; § 6 dignitas . . . tum cum *om.* *W*; § 30 bonus . . . iacet *om.* *W*; § 79 magni . . . at *om.* *W*. In all of these the passage omitted forms one line in  $\Sigma$ . The last case will be found in the facsimile at the end of this volume. I noticed two similar cases in the *pro Balbo*, viz. § 29 coniuncta . . . . . civitatis *om.* *W*; § 53 -ma virtute . . . damnato *om.* *W*.

Besides these certain cases I noticed eleven others in the *pro Sex. Roscio* and *pro Murena*, in which an omission of *W* is due to the fact that the eyes of a copyist dropped from a word which he was copying to the word immediately beneath it in the line below, e. g.

inter

*Rosc.* § 39 fuisse nihil autem umquam debuit cupiditates porro quae possunt  
esse in eo, etc.

*W* gives interfuisse in eo, *mediis omissis*. The reason is supplied by  $\Sigma$ , in which *in eo* is immediately below *nihil*. The other cases are *Rosc.* §§ 55, 92, 100, 102, 120, 147; *Mur.* §§ 29, 61, 69, 86, where an omission in *W* is due to this cause. An interesting case is *Rosc.* § 45 haec tu non intelligis sed usque eo quid arguas non habes ut non modo tibi contra nos dicendum putes

Here *W* gives quid putes arguas: in  $\Sigma$  *putes* is exactly under *quid*.

The writer's eye travelled to the line below: then discovering his error he struck out *putes*.

It will be observed that I do not speak of *W* as copied directly from  $\Sigma$ . It is the copy of a copy. This is shown by e. g.

*Rosc.* § 27 quod hic simul atque sensit] After *simul* there is a lacuna of four lines in *W*. There is nothing in  $\Sigma$  to justify this.

Ib. § 89 Trasumenum] trahasimemumi significare videtur *W*. The reading of  $\Sigma$  is *trahasymennum*, without *significare videtur*, which must have been a note in the original of *W*.

Ib. § 111 communi *om.* *W* in lacuna. The word is quite clear in  $\Sigma$ .

I shall subsequently show that the text has been corrupted to a very unusual extent in the course of transmission. The scribe of *W* or of the intermediate copy (or copies) must have been extraordinarily careless and incompetent<sup>1</sup>.

The interest of  $\Sigma$ , however, does not end here. In the *pro Milone*, *pro Caelio*, and *pro Cluentio*, while the text of the oration presents nothing remarkable, there are copious marginalia and supplements taken from another MS. That this MS. was no other than the Cluniacensis is clear from the fact that these variants coincide throughout with those which occur in the excerpts of Bartolommeo. There are hardly any cases of divergency. In the *pro Milone* the marginalia cease at § 17 and begin again at § 39, just as the excerpts ceased and began again at the same sections. The readings of  $\Sigma$  (i. e. of the second hand) are generally identical with those of *H*, and in the few cases of discrepancy are supported by *B*. The mediaeval argument to the speech found in *H* is copied on a separate sheet at the beginning of  $\Sigma$ , so that this also must have been in the Cluniacensis. In the *pro Cluentio* the first four lacunae have been filled up by pages or half-pages stitched into the MS., written in the same hand as the marginalia to the rest of the speech, while that at the end of the oration is added by the second hand in different ink. The theory, therefore, suggested by the excerpts, that the lacunae in the *mutili* were filled up from the Cluniacensis is verified by  $\Sigma$ .

$\Sigma$  consists of two parts, each of which is the work of one scribe. The second part is written in a more cursive and less legible hand than the first. The contents of the MS. are as follows:

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, p. lxxvii.

Part i.	(1)	<i>de imperio Cn. Pompei</i>	f. 1.	
	(2)	<i>pro Milone</i>	f. 9.	
	(3)	<i>pridie quam in exsilium iret</i>	f. 22.	
	(4)	<i>cum senatui gratias egit</i>	f. 25 v.	
	(5)	<i>cum populo gratias egit</i>	f. 31.	
	(6)	<i>de domo</i>	f. 35.	
	(7)	<i>pro Sestio</i>	f. 54 v.	
	(8)	<i>in Vatinius</i>	f. 77 v.	
	(9)	<i>de provinciis consularibus</i>	f. 83 v.	
	(10)	<i>de Haruspicum responsis</i>	f. 90 v.	
	(11)	<i>pro Balbo</i>	f. 101.	
	(12)	<i>pro Caelio</i>	f. 110.	
	(13)	<i>pro Plancio</i>	f. 121 v.	
	(14)	<i>pro Sulla</i>	f. 137.	
	(15)	<i>pro Archia</i>	f. 149.	
	(16)	<i>pro Murena</i>	f. 153 v.	
	Part ii.	(17)	<i>pro Sex. Roscio</i>	f. 168.
(18)		<i>pridie quam in exsilium iret</i>	f. 187.	} a second copy.
(19)		<i>cum senatui gratias egit</i>	f. 189 v.	
(20)		<i>cum populo gratias egit</i>	f. 194 v.	
(21)		<i>pro Marcello</i>	f. 197.	
(22)		<i>pro Ligario</i>	f. 200.	
(23)		<i>pro rege Deiotaro</i>	f. 203 v.	
(24)		<i>Invectiva Salustii in Ciceronem</i>	f. 207 v.	
(25)		<i>Invectiva Ciceronis in Salustium</i>	f. 208 v.	
(26)		<i>pro Cluentio</i>	f. 211.	
(27)		<i>pro Quinctio</i>	f. 232.	
(28)		<i>pro Flacco</i>	f. 241.	

Σ has been copied from several MSS. From the Cluniacensis it has derived the argument to the *Miloniana*, which is given on a half-sheet inserted before f. 1, the speeches *pro Murena* and *pro Sex. Roscio*, and marginalia to the *pro Milone*, *pro Caelio*, and *pro Cluentio*. The ten speeches 3-12 are derived from the well-known ninth-century Paris MS. [*P*] No. 7,794, in which they occur in the same order. It appeared to me that in these ten speeches it was directly copied from *P*, marginalia being added in the case of the *pro Caelio* from the Cluniacensis. Speeches 18-20 are a second copy of 3-5, with marginalia taken from *P*. I have not detected the source of the



other speeches. There are marginalia to the *orationes Caesarianae*, but neither these nor the text are of any value, also to the spurious Declamations. In the first part of the MS. the speech *pro Balbo* possesses marginalia similar in appearance to those found in the *pro Caelio*. I thought that these might possibly have been taken from the Cluniacensis, but Dr. Reid, to whom I submitted them, tells me that they are not valuable. As Bartolommeo's Excerpts do not contain any extracts from the *pro Balbo*, it would appear that these are taken from some other source.

The marginalia to the *pro Caelio* are written more clearly than those to the *pro Milone* and *pro Cluentio*. Also, none of them have been erased. It is unfortunate that a large number of the marginalia to the *pro Milone* and *pro Cluentio* have been rendered difficult to read by the misguided attempts of a corrector to erase them. As a rule they can be made out, but sometimes I found it impossible to see what had been written. This is most frequently the case in the *pro Cluentio*.

Σ is itself a parent of two MSS. also in the Paris Library, viz. Nos. 6,369 and 7,777. These were collated by Steinmetz for the *pro Sex. Roscio* and *pro Murena*, and styled by him Par. 1 and Par. 4. He did not edit the *pro Caelio*.

No. 6,369 is said in the old Catalogue to belong to the fourteenth Paris. Lat. century. This date must now be corrected in view of its relation to Σ.<sup>6,369</sup> The MS. is written in a good hand and is the work of a competent scholar. It begins with the speech *pridie quam in exilium iret*, No. 3 in Σ, and gives the next twelve speeches in the same order. The writer then, omitting for the time the *pro Murena* and *pro Sex. Roscio*, and disregarding the second copy of Nos. 3-5, went on to the *Caesarianae* and *pro Cluentio*, concluding with the *pro Flacco*, *pro Sex. Roscio*, *pro Quinctio*, and *pro Murena*.

That Par. 1 is derived from Σ may be seen from the following cases:

*Flacc.* § 46 a C. M.] Σ has the strange corruption *acma*. Par. 1 leaves a lacuna in the text, and gives in the margin *αcμα*.

Ib. § 17 Graecus apud Graecos non de culpa sua dixit, sed de poena questus est. Porrexerunt manus: psephisma natum est.

Σ adds in the margin *Ath. s.*, i. e. *Athenagoras*, to explain *Graecus*.

In Par. 1 we find *Athenis s.* above *natum*, the note having been misunderstood.

*Mur.* § 17 iacebant] iacebant̄ Σ: iacebam Par. 1.

§ 26 eis] eiis Σ Par. 1. § 30 ingeniosus] ingeneosus Σ, Par. 1.

§ 33 peteres] petereg Σ Par. 1. § 61 formosos] formonsus Σ, formonsos Par. 1. § 65 Ac te] recte te Σ, Par. 1 *in mg.*

*Clu.* § 130 subscriptionibus] subclitionibus Σ, Par. 1 *in textu, corr. in mg.*

Ib. multitudini nemini licitum] multitudinem inlicitum Σ, Par. 1 *pr. scr.* (multitudinem illicitum *cett.*).

Par. 1 has incorporated a certain number of the variants found in the margin of Σ. In this case the rejected reading is given in the margin of Par. 1. Generally, however, the marginalia of Σ are also in its margin. The writer does not reproduce them all, but gives an excellent selection. He was clearly a good Latinist, and knew what he was writing.

It is somewhat surprising that this MS. has not taken a larger place in Ciceronian criticism. It is vastly superior to *W*, and is a correct and faithful representative of Σ. Yet, apart from possible use by Lambinus, it appears to have been employed by no one except Steinmetz, and he only used it for the *pro Roscio* and *pro Murena*. No one quotes it for the *pro Caelio*, where it contains a large proportion of the remarkable marginalia found in Σ.

Paris. Lat.  
7,777.

The other MS., No. 7,777, the Paris 4 of Steinmetz, is very inferior to No. 6,369. Like Σ it belonged to St. Victor, and is beyond doubt derived from Σ. Thus *Mur.* § 10 (720. 18) it gives *cauod* for *quod*, retaining the corruption of Σ; § 51 (737. 3) *Cue erupit*, and in the margin *al. que, al. cur*, and immediately afterwards (l. 10) *P.R. sidio* for *praesidio*, reproducing Σ. The MS. has a selection of marginalia copied from Σ, but they are far fewer than those preserved in Par. 1. It has been supposed that this was the *cod. S. Victoris* used by Lambinus<sup>1</sup>, but I think that Mr. Fausset's identification of this with Σ more likely. In the printed Catalogue No. 7,777 is said to have been written in the year 1466. I could not see any indication of this date in the MS., which looks somewhat earlier.

Both these MSS. are superior to *W*, and together with it may now

<sup>1</sup> Halm, ii. 1, p. 716; Barwes, *Quaest. Tull. specimen primum ad Cael. or. spectans*, Göttingen, 1868, p. 9.

be disregarded in favour of  $\Sigma$ , the archetype of the three. I proceed to discuss more fully various questions connected with  $\Sigma$ .

The orthography of  $\Sigma$  throws great light upon the age and character of the Cluniacensis. This appears to have been anterior to, or unaffected by, the Carolingian reformation of spelling. All the faults noticed by writers upon the subject as occurring in the earliest Latin MSS., such as the *Puteanus* of Livy, the *codd. Vindobonenses* of the same author, and the oldest MSS. of Vergil are common in it. By  $\Sigma$ , of course, I mean the speeches *pro Sex. Roscio* and *pro Murena*, the marginalia to the *pro Milone*, *pro Caelio*, and *pro Cluentio*, and, in the case of the last speech, the supplements inserted from the Cluniacensis. I take various points in the order followed by Schuchardt in his monumental work<sup>1</sup>, giving references to Ribbeck's Prolegomena to Vergil.

Confusion of *i* and *g*:

e.g. *Rosc.* § 131 <sup>i</sup>magestatem, § 101 <sup>i</sup>agiunt (=aiunt), *Cacl.* § 19 <sup>i</sup>aciebant (=aiebant), § 57 <sup>i</sup>aligenis (=alienis), *Clu.* § 133 <sup>i</sup>inienio (=ingenio), argument to *Mil.* Pompegius (=Pompeius).

Of *m* and *n*:

e.g. forsitam *Rosc.* §§ 4, 5, 89, *Mur.* § 60 (so *Pal. Rom.*, Verg. *Ecl.* vi. 58, &c.).

Of *c* and *g* (cf. Ribb. p. 392):

e.g. *Rosc.* § 71 <sup>c</sup>negasset, § 139 <sup>c</sup>cocebat (=cogebat), *Mur.* § 10 <sup>c</sup>grasso (the form Grassus for Crassus occurs in *Vind. Liv.* XLI. 15. 9), § 26 <sup>c</sup>redigula (=ridicula), ib. <sup>c</sup>fugata (=fucata), § 34 <sup>c</sup>cessisset (=gessisset), § 61 <sup>c</sup>catilinacium (=gallinaceum), § 41 <sup>c</sup>egrecia (=egregia), *Cacl.* § 7 <sup>c</sup>dicendi diligentia (=dicendi licentia), *Mil.* § 50 <sup>c</sup>re agitaretur (=rea citaretur).

Of *b* and *p* (cf. Ribb. p. 390):

e.g. *Rosc.* § 142 <sup>p</sup>probe (=prope), *Mur.* § 30 <sup>p</sup>bellitur (=pellitur), § 42 <sup>p</sup>puplica (=publica), § 44 <sup>p</sup>planditiae (=blanditiae), *Clu.* § 178 <sup>p</sup>obto (=opto), § 194 <sup>p</sup>aut turpi (=aut urbi).

Of *l* and *r*:

e.g. *Mur.* § 30 <sup>r</sup>gradio (=gladio), § 73 <sup>r</sup>graditorium (=gladiatorium), *Clu.* § 126 <sup>r</sup>Pretorium (=Plaetorium), § 136 <sup>r</sup>flaglare (=fragrare).

Of *c* and *t*:

e.g. *Mur.* § 83 <sup>t</sup>petunt, in mg. *al.* tunc, *Clu.* § 180 <sup>t</sup>cortuosam (=tortuosam).

<sup>1</sup> Schuchardt, *Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1866.

The permutation of vowels is frequent.

*a* and *o* are confused (Ribb. p. 236):

e.g. *Rosc.* § 55 <sup>o</sup>calumniari, § 80 <sup>a</sup>occidebantur, *Mur.* § 30 <sup>a</sup>paetae (=poetae), § 86 <sup>o</sup>oro (similarly the sixth-century Puteanus of Prudentius has <sup>o</sup>pascit, <sup>a</sup>ortus, loquar, <sup>o</sup>vocantes, latebrasa, &c.).

*a* and *e* (Ribb. p. 384):

e.g. *Rosc.* § 12 cogitatis (=etis), § 75 luxoriae, § 133 coecervari, § 151 aciae, *Mur.* § 22 arbitrare (=rare), § 39 admirare (=rere), *Mil.* § 76 faceretis (=feceratis), *Cacl.* § 4 audiatis (=etis), § 67 naveant (=navent).

*e* and *i* (Ribb. p. 416):

e.g. *Rosc.* § 47 viderimus (=remus), § 73 vicesse (=vicisse), § 127 ementeretur, *Mur.* § 9 putis (=tes), § 17 refrigissem, § 27 interemi, § 30 ingeneosus, § 45 diffidet (=dit), § 47 valitudo, § 54 adulscens, § 73 sectare (=ri), *Mil.* § 54 audiritis.

*e* and *ae* (Ribb. p. 385):

e.g. *Rosc.* § 20 sociaetas, § 37 scaelestum, § 97 caeleritas, praemebat, praecor, § 144 aegestatem (*Mur.* § 79 aegi), *Mur.* § 3 vohaementer, § 60 aemendare.

*o* and *u* (Ribb. pp. 437, 451):

e.g. luxoria always, *Rosc.* § 47 agriculos, § 51 <sup>u</sup>assiduos, § 118 prumptum (=promptum, cf. Schuch. i. 115, iii. 203), § 119 <sup>u</sup>postulabant, § 136 quaeletur (=que laetor), § 137 habitos (=us), § 138 improbos (=us), *Mur.* § 8 industria, § 22 consultu res (=consultores), § 47 tolit (=tulit), *Clu.* § 104 ad docti (=adducti), *Cacl.* § 78 orbis (=urbis).

*i* and *ii* or *u* (Ribb. p. 426):

e.g. *Rosc.* § 117 coit, *Mur.* § 20 obit, *Rosc.* § 83 scrutari, *Mur.* § 26 tu diciis (=tu dicis), § 63 diffusum (=diffisum), § 64 nullus (=nullis).

*u* and *uu*:

*Rosc.* § 68 sūtiūs (=sumptus), *Clu.* § 192 luctuus (Ribb. p. 449 quotes casuus and curruus from the *cod. Rom.* of Vergil).

To these I would add certain other confusions not infrequent in  $\Sigma$ .

*c* and *q*:

*Mur.* § 10 cauod (=quod), § 25 vero acaedam (=verba quaedam), § 30 loquax (=loquax), § 80 quaesciue (=cives, cives), *Clu.* § 131 licere (=liquere).

The letter *s* was frequently confused (Ribb. p. 255) with *t* :

e. g. *Rosc.* § 46 esset (=es), § 48 suprobro (=tu probro), § 64 sã (=tam), § 122 tuine (=suine), *Mur.* § 11 triumphares (=et), § 13 saltas (=at), § 21 afuerit (=is), § 41 adiungis (=it), § 88 vctes (=et), *Clu.* § 78 supprestat (=suppressam), § 82 vertatur (=versatur), *Cacl.* § 14 reformides (=et).

Less commonly with *f* or *g* :

e. g. *Rosc.* § 120 defectus (=de servis), *Cacl.* § 43 deseruissent (=deferv.), *Mur.* § 35 gemel (=semel).

Sometimes it is omitted :

e. g. *Rosc.* § 58 accusa, *Mur.* § 64 dixisse, § 76 epula, § 83 amplissimi.

Or added at the end of a word<sup>1</sup> :

e. g. *Mur.* § 13 amors (=amor), § 26 aios (=aio), conspicios (=io), § 69 honestissimis (=mi), § 73 vitricos (=co), § 78 iacios (=facio), *Clu.* § 103 unos (=uno).

*p* is confused with *f* (Ribb. p. 245) :

e. g. *Mur.* § 20 repertam (=refertam), § 32 Aspica (=Africa), § 74 res fuit (=respuit), § 85 confirmentur (=comprimentur).

Also with *t* (Ribb. p. 252) :

e. g. *Mur.* § 11 pertiam, § 48 sapietati (=satietati), § 77 ab spe (=abs te).

*x* with *c* :

e. g. *Rosc.* § 97 fax (=fac), § 77 sextantur (=sectantur).

Or with *a* :

e. g. *Clu.* § 154 praemixtum (=praemia tum).

Most of these confusions are due to mispronunciation, others, e. g. the permutation of *c* and *g*, may be caused by the similarity of these letters in uncial MSS. To these may be added the frequent confusion of *i* and *l* :

e. g. *Rosc.* § 146 quasi (=quas L), *Mur.* § 73 tribullum (=lium), § 82 eliolem (=evolem), § 87 vos si (=vos L), *Clu.* § 84 iutro (=ultra), *Cacl.* § 1 iudicis (=ludis).

And of *e* and *f* :

e. g. *Mur.* § 21 eorum (=forum), § 86 fidem (=idem).

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. H. M. Bannister supplies me with nine examples of similar addition, e. g. digitos (=to), caelos (=lo), &c., from MS. Vat. Regin. Lat. 317, Sacramentarium Gothicum, which he considers to have been written about 700 A. D. in the neighbourhood of Toulouse.

Among abbreviations may be noticed :

*Rosc.* § 20 rus (=rusticum), § 125 primūm (cf. *Cael.* § 67), *Mur.* § 11 potissim. (cf. § 4 potissimo=potissimum summo), § 12 actrium (=ac triumphum), § 14 inimicor. (=orum), § 33 attened (=ad Tenedum), § 67 fact. (=factum), § 84 peric. (=periculum), § 89 magn. (=magnum), § 90 acerrim. (=acerrimum), *Cael.* § 72 maior. (=maiorum). *Laus* in *Mur.* § 65 is written *la<sup>us</sup>*, while in §§ 19, 22 *us* is added by the second hand *in lac.*

*Cael.* § 67 is interesting, as showing the agreement of Σ with the Excerpts.

In Σ we find

Λ iam videri primūm] Λ prim., i.e. the Cluniacensis had prim. iam videre. This abbreviation is also found in the Excerpts and in Par. i.

An abbreviation of *causa* appears to have perplexed the writer of Σ. *Causa* is replaced by *cum* *Mur.* § 86, by *arum* *Mur.* § 9, omitted *Rosc.* § 86, *Mur.* § 90. It is inserted from a dittography of *c*, *Clu.* § 15 hanc causam unam (=hanc unam), § 49 cum causa (=tum), cf. § 96 ex causa parte (=ex parte).

*Cum* is confused with *con* :

e.g. *Clu.* § 154 consumma (=cum summa), § 193 cumsistendi (=consistendi), § 194 comfido (=confido), Ribbeck, p. 393.

The symbol *h. d.*, to denote an omission (i.e. *hic deest*), is found *Mil.* § 8. For this sign, frequent in old MSS., cf. Delisle, *Notice sur un MS. Mérovingien*, p. 14<sup>1</sup>.

Among archaic survivals may be noticed frequent cases of

(1) Genitive in *-i* for *-ii* :

e.g. *Mur.* § 3 benefici, § 13 convivi, § 71 officii, § 78 oti, § 82 praesidi.

(2) Accusative plur. in *-is* :

e.g. omnis, talis, tris, artis, sapientis, &c. *passim*.

(3) *u* for *i* in superlatives :

e.g. *Rosc.* § 103 omptume (§ 144 optuma), § 116 intumi, *Mur.* § 7 acerbissime, § 8 alienissimos, § 9 facillume, § 89 libentissime, *Clu.* § 176 vehementissimis, § 197 amplissimi.

Also in verbs :

e.g. existumo *Rosc.* § 135, *Clu.* §§ 149, 151, 197, *Cael.* § 24.

<sup>1</sup> Also a valuable paper by Mr. W. C. F. Walters on symbols of omission in MSS. of Livy. *Class. Rev.*, xvii, p. 161.

## (4) -uo- for -uu- :

e.g. *Rosc.* § 22 seruom (so *Clu.* § 176), § 51 assiduus, § 120 iniquom (cf. iniquos *Clu.* § 202), § 134 volgaris, § 141 seruoli, *Mur.* § 2 vulgus, § 37 vult, § 33 reuulsa.

## (5) Unassimilated forms of prepositions in composition :

e.g. adnumero *Rosc.* §§ 89, 144, adpendo *Rosc.* § 144, adprobo *Rosc.* § 138, adpromitto *Rosc.* § 26, adrogo *Mur.* §§ 29, 78, adsiduus *Mur.* § 21, adtribuo *Rosc.* § 9, contigo *Clu.* § 51, conloco *Rosc.* § 151, *Cael.* § 49, *Mil.* § 2, conrumpro *Mur.* § 74: etflorescit *Cael.* § 76.

Among archaic forms the most interesting are occasional doublings of *s* after a long vowel, e.g. *Mur.* § 36 cassum (=casum), § 55 provissis (=improvisis), § 65 ussus (=usus). Quintilian says that this was the practice of Cicero and Vergil, as shown by writings in their own hand, *cassus* being one of the instances which he quotes<sup>1</sup>.

Another case in which the Cluniacensis preserved an ancient spelling ascribed to Cicero by Aulus Gellius (vi. 9. 15) is *Rosc.* § 60 *pepugisset*. Gellius, who quotes *pepugero* from Atta, says 'Sic M. Tullius et C. Caesar mordeo *memordi*, pungo *pepugi*, spondeo *spepondi* dixerunt.' This appears to be the only occasion where the MSS. of Cicero support this statement (cf. Neue iii<sup>3</sup>. 348-350).

Other interesting spellings are :

*animum aduerto Clu.* § 1, *Cael.* § 7; cf. Ribbeck, i. 338.

*audaciter Cael.* § 13. This archaic form is quoted from *Rosc. Am.* § 104 by Priscian (*audacter* codd.), and occurs in several other passages in Cicero and other authors; cf. Neue ii<sup>3</sup>. 685.

*conticisco Mur.* § 22: so Plaut. *Bacch.* 797, *Mil.* § 10.

*dilibutus Rosc.* § 135: so the palimpsest of Fronto 177, 22. Cf. Caper, '*dilibuit unguenta, non delibuit*,' and Schuchardt, i. 298, ii. 73.

*depeciscor Rosc.* § 110 and § 115 *depectus*. Cf. Halm, *ad loc.*, and *Verr.* iii. 60, where this form is supported by the palimpsest (*V*).

*formonsus Mur.* § 61. For this spelling in the ancient MSS. of Vergil cf. Ribbeck, i. 434. It is also found in inscriptions, e.g. *C. I. L.* vi. 2,738.

*poenio Mur.* § 67. Cf. Schuchardt, ii. 296, and my note on *Mil.* § 9.

<sup>1</sup> i. 7. 20. Among the forms quoted by Ribbeck (i. 444) from the MSS. of Vergil are *cassus*, *provissa*, *includsus*.

*qui* (i. e. *quoi*) for *cui* *Rosc.* § 9, *Mur.* § 13, *Clu.* § 52, *Cacl.* § 77. Quintil. i. 7. 27 says that *quoi* was written when he was a boy.  
*voster Clu.* §§ 199, 200, the archaic spelling affected by Sallust.

The additions made *in lacuna*, or in the margin, by the second hand in  $\Sigma$  are of special interest. These are generally

(1) Words not divided, or divided improperly :

e. g. *Mur.* § 43 (733. 29) *ipsisolire*, § 47 (735. 12) *quistolitis* (= *quis tulit?* Is), § 70 (743. 32) *ametui id* (= *a me tu id*).

(2) Strange spellings :

e. g. *Rosc.* § 68 (48. 7) *sũtius* (= *sumptus*), § 103 (58. 2) *omptume*, *Mur.* § 10 (720. 18) *cauod* (= *quod*), § 61 (740. 19) *formonsus*.

(3) Combinations of *m*, *n*, *i*, and *u*. Wherever these letters occurred the writer was conscious of a difficulty, even in the case of familiar words. In the following instances the letters italicized were added by the second hand :

*Rosc.* § 2 (30. 9) *quam*, § 6 (31. 9), *pecuniam*, § 130 (65. 12) *venierũt*, § 144 (69. 10) *optuma*, *Mur.* § 38 (732. 4) *promanum* (= *pop. Romanum*), § 73 (745. 4) *animium*, § 85 (749. 22) *annum*.

A striking case is *Rosc.* § 135 :

*videtis iudices et invidetis iudices et unum videtis iudices*  $\Sigma$  *in textu* : in the margin is *inim*, an effort at a facsimile.

*Mur.* § 3 *a me una*] *ame* [||]  $\Sigma$  (*m. 2 in lac.*).

§ 56 *exitio*] *ex*] |o  $\Sigma$  (*m. 2 in lac.*).

Similar confusion is found in the marginalia taken from the Cluniacensis :

e. g. *Mil.* § 37 (1164. 11) *Vibienus*] *uiuiens*  $\Sigma$ , *Clu.* § 55 (557. 14) *Iunius*] *vuius*  $\Sigma$ .

(4) Unintelligible corruptions :

e. g. *Rosc.* § 30 *paruũ* (= *per vim*), § 79 *multisanus* (= *multis annis*), § 107 *iudiciuae*, *Mur.* § 17 *amẽ* (= *tamen*), § 23 *istamiscientia* (= *istam scientiam*), § 66 *huiusce modiodi*, § 68 *ouiuam* (= *obviam*).

There is an interesting case *Mur.* § 80. Here for *cives*, *cives*  $\Sigma$  gives in the text *quae siue* : in the margin we find *quaesçiuę*, obviously a second attempt at decipherment.

When the first writer came to a difficulty he left a lacuna, the space



provided being usually more than was enough to receive the missing word or words. Thus in the argument to the *pro Milone* a lacuna of twenty letters is left after *a scrvis Milonis*. The testimony of *H*, however, shows that the single word *contra* is omitted. It is seldom that insufficient space is left; thus *Mur.* § 17 *Pompeiiis . . . Cacliis*, a passage omitted by the first writer, and inserted by the second, is cramped for lack of room. Frequently, however, considerable margin was allowed for such additions, e.g. *Mur.* § 25 space for sixteen letters is vacant after *inistros duo admiscrationis i deuuntiatas*. It was usual for the second writer, after making his insertion, to draw a line through the vacant space, thus showing that there was nothing more to come. Where this line is not drawn it would appear that there was something which he failed to decipher, e.g. *Mur.* § 85 no line is drawn through the vacant space left after *impedituri sunt*, after *qua po*, and after *versabitur*. So, to take a minute case, *Rosc.* § 120, where  $\Sigma$  omits *cum* before *ita sint*, no line is drawn through the vacant space. Unfortunately, we cannot be sure that in all cases where the line is found nothing is omitted. Thus *Mur.* § 87 the Italian MSS. have *si iniuste neminem laesit*,  $\Sigma$  omits *iniuste* in a lacuna, across which a line has been drawn by the second hand. So *Rosc.* § 96  $\Sigma$  has a small lacuna before *Roscio Capitone*, which subsequently was filled up by the usual line. Modern editors insert *T* before *Roscio* after the conjecture of Richter. It was probably this letter which the first scribe could not read, and for which he left a space. So *Rosc.* § 138  $\Sigma$  gives *decerne* before a small lacuna, which has been filled up. As, however, the earliest Italian copy (*A*) has *decernere*, it would appear that this, or some similar corruption, was in the Cluniacensis.

In some cases the first writer appears to have himself added at the end of a word a letter about which he originally felt doubtful, and for which he left an empty space. He then drew a line to show that there was nothing still to come. Not infrequently he made a small erasure after a word, and then drew a line over the erasure. My impression is that, as a rule, nothing has been lost, but that some minute flaw has been removed. Thus in the argument to the *Miloniana* there is a space for four letters left vacant after *incendio*. The evidence of *H*, however, shows that nothing has dropped out. Possibly a stop after the word, which is preserved in *H*, puzzled the French scribe.

On the other hand in *Rosc.* § 65 potuisset]  $\Sigma$  has *potuisse* before a small erasure: *potuisse* is given by all the other MSS., which I have collated. It appears most likely that the erasure conceals the missing and necessary *-t*.

It is indeed *periculosae plenum opus aleae* to distinguish between these cases. I should, however, be inclined not to attach importance to some small lacunae or erasures, e. g.

*Rosc.* § 44 (41. 20) vivo ||, § 53 (44. 4) huiusce ||, *Mur.* § 66 (742. 8) comior ||, § 78 (747. 14) patet ||, ib. (l. 15) pertinet ||, § 82 (748. 23) nam || ne.

Something may, on the other hand, be concealed by the following :

*Rosc.* § 44 (41. 24) factum ||, § 83 (52. 24) esse ||, § 117 (61. 24) ac || minatur, § 141 (68. 19) hic || etiam, *Mur.* § 15 (722. 2), vince ||, § 26 (725. 29) cedo ||, § 30 (728. 3) artes ||, § 43 (734. 4) a spem ||, § 56 (738. 19) inimico ||, § 62 (740. 27) cave ||.

There are three curious cases in  $\Sigma$ , where the symbol usually employed to denote transposition appears to have some other meaning, viz.

*Rosc.* § 2 audacissimus ego ex omnibus? Minime. At] Here  $\Sigma$  gives *omnibus "minime" at*<sup>1</sup>. It appears probable that the marks are used to show that *minime* is to be taken by itself.

Ib. § 3 atque in vulgus emanare]  $\Sigma$  has *atque "ne" in*. Possibly *atque in* was in the original.

Ib. § 104 quid tu, vir optime? ecquid]  $\Sigma$  gives quid tu vir "omptime" ecquid<sup>2</sup>. The earliest Italian transcript has *et quid tu, vir optime*, interpreting the symbol as one of transposition. This may be so, or it may merely call attention to the strange spelling<sup>3</sup>.

There appear to have been dittographies in the Cluniacensis, e. g.

*Rosc.* § 122 (63. 11) mihi nunc mihi, § 135 (67. 4) videtis iudices et invidetis iudices et unum videtis, § 141 (68. 24) fortunas vestrasque nostras, *Cacl.* § 23 (1007. 15) vellem vellem, § 36 (1012. 7) illum illum, § 73 (1025. 11) summi viri et clarissimi viri et clarissimi cives, *Mil.* § 66 (1172. 10) ut ut, § 68 (1173. 10) est et esset.

<sup>1</sup> atque minime *W*.

<sup>2</sup> et omptime *W*.

<sup>3</sup> Ribbeck, *ProL*, p. 220, notices the use of *apices* in the Cod. Medicus of Vergil to delete or correct letters, or to show that vowels should be pronounced separately.

Also supralineal variants and corrections, e. g.

*Rosc.* § 131 commodis a quibus, i. e. commodis quibus<sup>a</sup>.

*Mur.* § 89 ameror, i. e. meror.<sup>a</sup>

§ 90 amestum, i. e. mestum<sup>1</sup>.

*Clu.* § 127 haberebantur, i. e. habebantur.<sup>re</sup>

I now proceed to discuss the affinities of the Cluniacensis in the speeches *pro Cluentio*, *pro Caelio*, and *pro Milone*, as shown by the marginalia in  $\Sigma$ .

It will be convenient to begin with the *pro Milone*. The agreements with *H* are continual, as will be seen by the collation, most of the readings there given being those previously known from *H*. I instance a few of the more interesting cases of similar corruptions:

§ 5 cunctis] conontiis  $\Sigma$ : conunriis *H*.

§ 8 L. Opimius aut C. Marius] aut C. *om.* *H*: after Opimius the Cluniacensis had *h. d.*, i. e. *hic deest*.

§ 14 etiam si e re p. oppressa sunt] *om.* e *H*, est  $\Sigma$ .

§ 18 P. Clodius] P. Claudius  $\Sigma$ : P. cludius *H*.<sup>a</sup>

§ 37 Vibienus] uiuiens  $\Sigma$ : uiuienus *H*.

§ 47 omnes scilicet Lanuvini] homines scilicet  $\Sigma H$ .

§ 50 rea citaretur] re agitaretur  $\Sigma H$ .

§ 68 est et] est et esset  $\Sigma H$ .

§ 71 ut vos eum] *om.* eum *H*: ut vuum  $\Sigma$ .

That the same lacuna (§§ 18–37) existed in the two MSS. has already been mentioned. Among more important readings of *H* supported by  $\Sigma$  are: § 14 aut arma  $\Sigma H$ : aut quo arma *cett.* § 16 ingemuit  $\Sigma H$ : gemuit *cett.* § 37 intenta  $\Sigma H$ : intentata *cett.* § 39 concurreret  $\Sigma H$ : concurrerent *cett.* § 47 diceret  $\Sigma H$ : dicerent *cett.* § 50 noctu occidisset. insidioso et pleno latronum in loco occidisset  $\Sigma$ : noctu occidisset. Nemo ei neganti non credidisset. Insidioso et pleno latronum in loco occidisset *H*: *om. cett.* § 51 ad se (sua  $\Sigma$ ) in Albanum  $\Sigma H$ : ad Albanum *cett.* § 56 interire  $\Sigma H$ : perire *cett.* § 59 incesti  $\Sigma H$ : de incestu *cett.* § 66 false atque insidiosae  $\Sigma H$ : falsa atque insidiosa *cett.* § 68 ante testaretur  $\Sigma H$ : an testaretur *E*: attestaretur *T.* § 74 harenam  $\Sigma H$ :

<sup>1</sup> *W* gives || mestum, i. e. *a* has been crased.

arma *cett.* § 81 *vestri ΣH: vestri ordinis cett.* § 85 *regiones ΣH: regiones cett.* § 95 *hoc eodem illo ΣH: hoc eodem cett.*

In a number of cases where the variant of the Cluniacensis has not been recorded by the French collator, the testimony of Bartolommeo's Excerpts shows that  $\Sigma = H$ . Thus § 1 *H* gives *veterem consuetudinem* (*om. veterem ET*): as *consuetudinem* appears in the text and no variant is quoted by the collator, it might be inferred that *veterem* was omitted by the Cluni MS. The Excerpts, however, give *veterem consuetudinem*, agreeing with *H*.

Other instances of agreement between *B* and *H* (*sil. Σ*) are:

§ 4 *de bonis . . . umquam om.*, § 86 *sine lamentis om.*, § 90 *caput orbis*, § 101 *in huius salutem, ib. eritis animo, ib. inquam et cuius*, § 103 *si distrahor, ib. pr. cos.*, § 104 *illam beatam om.*, § 105 *excipiet, ib. pro lacrimis.*

The agreement of  $\Sigma BH$  in minute points may be shown by e. g.

§ 47 *ac perditum ΣBH: et perditum cett.* § 54 *audiretis] audiritis ΣBH. § 105 sentietis] sentitis ΣBH.*

Against this mass of agreements may be set a certain number of discrepancies. I take first original contributions of  $\Sigma$ .

- § 3 *quos undique intuentes, unde aliqua fori pars aspici potest] For intuentes ΣB give confluentes, which cannot be right.*
- § 53 *hominum mille versabantur HET. Gellius says that versabatur is the correct reading, and attributes versabantur to 'libri minus accurate scripti.' ΣB have versabatur.*
- § 58 *quos nisi manu misisset, tormentis etiam dedendi fuerunt] For fuerunt Σ gives fuissent, an inferior reading.*
- § 66 *praestantissima virtute virum] praestantissimum virtute virum Σ.*
- § 70 *legem tulit, qua, ut ego sentio, Milonem absolvi a vobis oporteret, ut omnes confitentur, liceret] Here H has oportet . . . liceret: Σ gives oportet . . . licet. The vulgate seems preferable.*
- § 71 *cogere, ut vos eum condemnetis, in quem animadvertere ipse et more maiorum et suo iure posset] Here possit the conjecture of A. Eberhard is supported by Σ.*
- § 79 *ista lex lata numquam Σ: ista lex numquam lata H: lata lex numquam ET.*
- § 80 *et magno animo et libenter] et ante magno om. Σ.*
- § 83 *si ingrata] sin ingrata Σ.*
- § 92 *si in nostro omnium fletu nullam lacrimam aspexistis Milonis] Σ has aspexeritis, an attractive reading.*

- § 97 esse hanc unam] hanc esse unam  $\Sigma$ .  
 § 98 omnibus in terris et iam versatur et semper hic (so  $\Sigma H$ , *om. hic cell.*)  
 habitabit nominis mei gloria] versabitur  $\Sigma$ , wrongly.  
 § 101 qui multum pro re publica sanguinem effudistis] sanguinis  $\Sigma B$ ,  
 I think, rightly.  
 § 105 delegit  $\Sigma B$ : elegit  $HT$ : legit  $E$ .

In the following cases  $\Sigma$  agrees with other MSS. against  $H$ , or throws light upon the reading of  $H$ .

- § 6 factas  $\Sigma BT$ : factas esse  $HE$ .  
 § 14 inessent  $\Sigma BE$ : inesset  $H$ : esset  $T$ .  
 § 42 rumorem fabulam falsam fictam levem  $\Sigma BE$ : rumorem fictam levem  
 $H$ : rumorem fabulam fictam falsam levem  $T$ . The reading of  $\Sigma$   
 would make it appear that *fabulam falsam* has been omitted by  $H$ .  
 If so, I must reconsider my treatment of the passage, though I still  
 feel some difficulty in the reading of  $\Sigma BE$ , which gives no adjective  
 to *rumorem*, and three to *fabulam*.  
 § 79 ut ea cernamus quae videmus  $\Sigma B$ : ut ea cernamus quae non videmus  
 $H$ : ut ea cernimus quae videmus  $ET$ .

I recognize in the reading of  $\Sigma B$  the origin of that found in  $H$ , which, therefore, I no longer defend.

- § 80 ea vis igitur ipsa  $\Sigma E$ : ea vis igitur  $H$ : ea vis ipsa igitur  $T$ .

To these I must add that in § 75 the Excerpts have *limine*, which is against the reading *lumine* accepted by myself from  $H$ . I would also notice that in § 4 they omit *vobis*, a word struck out by Bake. This, however, may be due to accident.

Other differences appear to be *proprii errores* of the Cluni MS., e. g.

- § 5 pro bonis (et) contra improbos, § 41 in saepa] vi cepta, § 47 iacent]  
 iaceant, § 66 ut ut intellego, § 77 ferro] freno, § 81 cecidisset (et), § 85 lacus]  
 luçuş (*sic*), § 87 Italia] et alia, § 88 novo] gn (*sic*), ib. in gratiam] gratia, § 91  
 Caelius] Caecilius, § 104 hicine] hicene.

The question necessarily arises, whether  $H$  is in this speech copied from Clun. 496. This hypothesis is attractive in view of the close connexion which exists between  $H$  in the *Orationes Caesarianae* and another Cluni MS., No. 498 in the old Catalogue, recently discovered by Dr. Peterson in the library of Lord Leicester at Holkham Hall<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Robinson Ellis authorises me to state that he has withdrawn his objection to Dr. Peterson's reading of the erased library-mark in this MS., viz. *de conventu Clun.*, in view

Dr. Peterson is disposed to think that in the *Caesarianae H* was copied directly from No. 498. It would, therefore, appear to be a simple explanation to say that *H* was copied in the *Miloniana* from Clun. 496, and in the *Caesarianae* from Clun. 498.

There are, however, difficulties in the way of this theory. If the description of Clun. 498 in the ancient Catalogue, viz.

Cicero in Catillinam et idem pro Q. Ligario et pro rege Deiotaro et de publicis litteris et de actione idemque in Verrinis

is to be trusted, the MS. did not contain the *pro Marcello*, which occurs in *H*, and in that MS. appears to have been drawn from the same source as the other two speeches. Also, in the *Caesarianae H* not infrequently preserves old spellings or abbreviations which seem prior to the readings of the Holkham MS. Further, it is difficult to see why the writer of *H*, who was clearly anxious to form a *corpus* of Ciceronian works, should have copied nothing but the *pro Milone* from No. 496, omitting the speeches *pro Sex. Roscio*, *pro Cluentio*, *pro Murena*, *pro Caelio*. It would be equally strange that only the *Caesarianae* should have been copied from No. 498, and that the writer of *H*, who gives certain Excerpts from *Verr.* iii, iv, v, should not have copied the complete orations ii and iii contained, before its mutilation, by No. 498. Further, if two Cluni MSS. had been used for the composition of *H*, that MS. would in all probability have been written at Cluni. It is, however, according to all experts who have examined it, a German MS.

I should, therefore, prefer to think that the ancestor of *H* was a *gemellus* of Clun. 496 in the *Miloniana*, and of Clun. 498 in the speeches *pro Ligario* and *pro rege Deiotaro*. If the contrary hypothesis is adopted, then the tradition of *H* is brought back to the ninth century for the *Caesarianae*, while its ancestor in the *pro Milone* is probably of greater antiquity. As the Holkham MS. does not contain the *pro Marcello*, and only portions of the *pro Ligario* and *pro rege Deiotaro*, while the testimony of  $\Sigma$  and the Excerpts is incomplete in the *pro Milone*, the importance of *H* would remain undiminished, and the antiquity of its recension proved.

I proceed to discuss the speech *pro Caelio*, the MSS. evidence for of the occurrence of the same mark in a legible form in another MS. recently acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, Nouv. Acq. Lat. 638), a photograph of which was kindly sent to me by M. Omont. (See *Class. Rev.*, xvi. 460, xvii. 163, xviii. 23.)

which, though good, is somewhat scanty. In addition to fragments of two palimpsests *A* and *T*, we have the famous ninth-century Paris MS. 7794 (*P*). This has been already referred to as being the MS. from which speeches 3-12 in  $\Sigma$  have been copied. Halm also used two other MSS. *GE*, which are either copied from *P* or are derived from it, and possess no independent value. A Harleian MS., No. 4927, collated by Baehrens, is equally valueless. On the other hand striking variants, apparently drawn from a different source, but sporadic in character, occur in *W*, the Wolfenbütteleanus, and the frequently mentioned Monacensis 15734 (*S*). The reader will at once divine the source from which these come.

The evidence of the marginalia in  $\Sigma$  and of the Excerpts of Bartolommeo shows that the Cluni MS. was closely connected with the palimpsests *A* and *T*.

*A* exists for §§ 71-75 only. In these four sections I note the following agreements:

§ 71 eo maleficio tamen *A* $\Sigma$ : et maleficio *cell.* § 72 crimen quaestionis *A* $\Sigma$ : quaestionis crimen *cell.* ib. seiunctum cum *A* $\Sigma$ : seiunctum et cum *cell.* ib. instruimur  $\Sigma$ : struimur *A*: instituimur *cell.* ib. his autem *A* $\Sigma$ : is autem *P* (*variant cell.*). ib. studiis aequalium *A* $\Sigma$ : aequalium studiis *cell.* ib. nobilissimi *A* $\Sigma$ : nobilis si *P.* § 73 homini *A* $\Sigma$  (and *B*): viro *cell.* ib. res erat *A* $\Sigma$ : res erant *cell.* ib. decessit *A* $\Sigma$ : discessit *cell.*

*T* contains §§ 38-42, 54-56, 67-68. I note the following agreements of *T* $\Sigma$ :

§ 39 et ut hanc *T* $\Sigma$ : et hanc *cell.* § 40 alia quaedam *T* $\Sigma$ : aliqua quaedam *cell.* § 54 illis artibus *T* $\Sigma$ : artibus *cell.* ib. in alienum *T* $\Sigma$ : alienum *P.* ib. si comperisset *T* $\Sigma$ : cumpetisset *P.* *variant cell.* ib. a suis servis *T* $\Sigma$ : a suis *cell.* ib. domi suae *T* $\Sigma$ : suae domi *cell.* praetermitteret *T* $\Sigma$ : prae||mitteret *P.* ib. in insidiis *T* $\Sigma$ : insidiis *cell.* § 55 dignitatis *T* $\Sigma$ : *om. cell.* § 56 nec principium *T* $\Sigma$ : de (idē *P*<sup>2</sup>) principium *P.*: neque principium *cell.* ib. evolvere *T* $\Sigma$ : volvere *cell.* § 66 testes iudices *T* $\Sigma$ : iudices testes *cell.* § 68 sublata *T* $\Sigma$ : sublevata *cell.*

To these may be added from the Excerpts, where no variant is recorded in  $\Sigma$ :

§ 39 convivium *T**B*: convivia *cell.* § 41 ac prolapsione *T**B*: aut prolapsione *cell.*

This remarkable list of agreements shows that the Cluniacensis was

in this speech closely connected with the two palimpsests *A* and *T*. The antiquity of its recension is, therefore, beyond question; its goodness will be speedily apparent.

In the following cases it presents a reading given in rhetorical or grammatical writers:

- § 8 huic aetati atque dignitati *Agroetius*, p. 118 Keil: huic aetati atque isti dignitati  $\Sigma$ : isti aetati *P*.
- § 31 non solum nobili, verum etiam nota *Quintil.* ix. 4. 98, so  $\Sigma$ : verum *om. P*<sup>1</sup>, sed *P*<sup>2</sup> *cett.*
- § 32 fratrem volui dicere *Claudius Sacerdos* i, § 180, so  $\Sigma$ : fratre volui dicere *cett.* (and *Rufinianus de fig.* § 7).
- § 50 obliviscor iam iniurias tuas *Arusianus* (*s. v. obliviscor*), *Servius ad Aen.* ii. 148, so  $\Sigma$ : *om. tuas cett.*

Also, from *B* (*sil.*  $\Sigma$ ):

- § 67 aliud fori lumen est, aliud lychnorum *Fortunatianus* I. iii. 6: lux . . . alia est solis, alia lychnorum *B*<sup>1</sup>: lux . . . alia est solis et (ac *T*) lychnorum *cett.*

The most interesting feature, however, of  $\Sigma$  is that it so frequently confirms conjectures made by various scholars. No less than six of these proceed from Madvig. The most striking case is

- § 45 hoc quidquid est quod nos facimus in dicendo, quoquo modo agendo (so *PEG*, non modo agendo *S*) verum etiam cogitando possit sustinere.

Madvig (*Opuscula*, i. 396), after pointing out the want of MSS. authority for the vulgate *non modo agendo*, says 'Vehementer suspicor factum hic esse quod alibi quoque in orationibus factum esse memini, ut in codicum nostrorum archetypo propter eiusdem vocabuli repetitionem aliquid excideret, scriptumque olim fuisse: *quoquo [modo facimus non] modo.*'  $\Sigma$ , as will be seen from the facsimile at the beginning of this volume, confirms the supplement proposed by Madvig.

On the same leaf will be found two other corrections made by the same great critic, viz.

- § 43 liquet *P*: necesse est *EGS*: licet *Orelli*. Madvig suggested *libet*, saying 'Ex scribendi errore factum est *liuet*, inde ortum *liquet.*'  $\Sigma$  gives *libet*.

<sup>1</sup> This reading also occurs in *b* (*S. Marci*, 255), and  $\psi$  (*Gadd.* xc. sup. 69), cf. pp. xxxix sqq.



§ 47 labore fiendi homines a studioque *P*: labor confitendi homines a studioque *EG*: homines a labore studioque *S*. Madvig proposed *labor offendit homines*, etc., so  $\Sigma$ .

The other conjectures of Madvig now verified are

§ 41 quibus sopita virtus coniveret interdum *Madvig*, so  $\Sigma$ : et ante interdum *cell*.

§ 58 ad eam rem *Madvig*, so  $\Sigma$ : ad eadem rem *P*<sup>1</sup>: ad rem *P*<sup>2</sup>*EG*.

§ 61 datum esse aiunt huic P. Licinio *Madvig*, so  $\Sigma$ : datum esse aiunt hoc P. Licinio *cell*.

It may further be noted that  $\Sigma$ , quoted by Gulielmus as *codex Sancti Victoris*, is the source of a reading vindicated by Madvig against that of all other MSS., viz.

§ 52 tune Venerem illam tuam spoliare ornamentis spoliatricem ceterorum, cum scires (so  $\Sigma$ , spoliatricem, ceterum cum scires *cell*.)<sup>1</sup>.

Madvig here remarks 'Optime subvenit codex praestantissimus Sancti Victoris qui utinam saepius commemoraretur.' If it had ever fallen to the lot of Madvig to behold  $\Sigma$ , he would have indeed rejoiced to see the verification of his conjectures. It is singular that no one should previously have drawn attention to these remarkable readings, since they are also to be found in Par. 6369, which is copied from  $\Sigma$ , and contains a well-chosen selection from the marginalia of  $\Sigma$ . No one, however, will doubt the *bona fides* of the illustrious Madvig, or suppose that his results were due to anything but conjecture.

Though the lion's share falls to Madvig, other scholars may also claim credit. I pass by a block of readings, about twenty-five in number, printed by Lambinus with or without mention of a MS., since his *cod. S. Victoris* is either  $\Sigma$  or a descendant of  $\Sigma$ , e. g.

§ 42 familiam, § 51 e vadis, § 56 causa videatur, § 68 sublata, § 70 libidinosae.

Also, readings ascribed to *vett. edd.*, which can hardly have been arrived at by conjecture, but appear to have been derived from the Cluniacensis by Italian collators, e. g.

§ 29 et copiose et graviter  $\Sigma$  and *Naugerius*: et graviter *cell*. The missing words are not likely to have been supplied by conjecture.

§ 69 a Caelio non est factum  $\Sigma$ , *vett. edd.*: a Caelio non est *cell*.

§ 77 iam res, iam dies,  $\Sigma$ , *vett. edd.*: iam ista dies (*i-* et *ista* in ras. *P*) *cell*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ceterorum* is also given by the first hand in  $\psi$ .

Among these are some important supplements, which I shall shortly discuss.

After making all deductions the following list remains :

- § 8 talem te omnes esse existiment *Wrampelmeyer* (ex *W*): talem te omnes se existiment  $\Sigma$  (and *W*): talem te existiment *cell*.
- § 9 potuit isti *vett. edd.* and  $\Sigma$ : potuisti *PE* (and *W*), potuit *G*.
- § 11 de eius fama . . . cum is iam se corroboravisset] is *del. Vollgraf, om. \Sigma*.
- § 12 at studuit *Francken*: ac studuit  $\Sigma$  (and *W*): studuit *cell*.
- § 15 maledictis impudicitiae *Garatoni* (cf. *Quintil.* iv. 2. 27 si defendendus sit M. Caelius, nonne optime patronus occurrat prius conviciis, luxuriae, petulantiae, *impudicitiae*, etc.), so  $\Sigma$ : maledictis pudicitiae, *cell*.
- § 18 ex publica causa *Francken*, so  $\Sigma$  (and  $b^2\psi^2 S$ ): et ex rei publicae causa (et *om. GE*) *cell*.
- § 21 vobis quoque vos causam putare] vos *del. Garatoni: om. \Sigma*.
- § 24 a sua putat eius esse seiunctam] eius *om. vett. edd.*, so  $\Sigma$ .  
Ib. removeantur *edd.*, so  $\Sigma$ : removentur *cell. codd*.
- § 30 tamen ne huic *Wrampelmeyer* (ex *W*): tam ne huic  $\Sigma$  (and *W*): ne huic *cell*.
- § 37 dide ac dissice *Puleanus*, so  $\Sigma$ : dide (dede  $P^2W$ ) ac disce *P* (and *W*): dideae ac disce *G*: dii deae ac disce *E*.
- § 44 quoniam *Muretus*, so  $\Sigma$ : quondam *cell*.
- § 45 loquor *vett. edd.* and  $\Sigma$ : eloquor *cell*.
- § 54 elaborata *Ant. Augustinus*, so  $\Sigma$ : laborata *cell*.
- § 57 sic est enim obiectum *Halm*, so  $\Sigma$ : sic enim obiectum *cell*: sic enim obiectum est *vulg.*
- § 59 quanta impenderet procella mihi] mihi *Orelli*, so  $\Sigma$  (and *B*): ibi *PEG* (and *W*) urbi *S*.
- § 60 sed revertar ad causam, etenim *Gruter*, so  $\Sigma$  (cf. Müller, *ad loc.*): sed enim (for *etenim*) *cell*.
- § 61 iam suberat *Oelling*, so  $\Sigma$ : iam iam suberat *cell*.
- § 69 adulescente est, fortasse *Francken*: adulescente fortasse  $\Sigma$ : fortasse adulescente *cell*.
- § 71 aeraria *Garatoni*, so  $\Sigma$ : afraria *cell*.
- § 76 ecflorescit *Halm*: et florescit  $\Sigma$ : || || florescit *P* (& has been erased *e coll. mea*): florescit *EG*: efflorescit *S*.
- § 78 patiatu *Wesenberg*, so  $\Sigma$ : datur *PEG*<sup>1</sup>: dat  $G^2$ : patitur *G*.  
Ib. absolutus est *Baiter*, so  $\Sigma$ : absolutus sit *cell*.  
Ib. et ad inflammandam *Bake*: et ad flammandam  $\Sigma$  (and *B*): et inflammandam *cell*.

Ib. et turpissimum *Bake*: si turpissimum  $\Sigma$  (*si* is found for *et* in  $\Sigma$ , *Cael.* §§ 23, 35, 38, 42): turpissimum *cett.*

It will be noticed that some of these readings have passed into *W* from  $\Sigma$ . Several others which now receive confirmation from  $\Sigma$  were previously known from *W* or from *S*. The later MS. has without doubt received them from Italian marginalia.

Vollgraf draws attention to the cases where *S* has preserved readings, of which he says 'e meliore libro fluxisse multo veri similius est quam palmares emendationes Bentleis Porsonisque dignas factas esse a semidocto homunculo Italico in reliquis cum ceteris scribis misere caecutiente.' All of these will be found to have come from the Cluniacensis, including the case which he singles out for special comment, viz. § 18 *ex publica causa*, as conjectured by Francken.

A signal service rendered by  $\Sigma$  is to vindicate certain passages omitted by *P* or by *P*<sup>1</sup>, which have generally been regarded as due to interpolation. This was the view of Madvig, who was followed by Halm and others, though C. F. W. Müller showed his usual independence by raising his voice on their behalf.

The most striking case is § 24. Here  $\Sigma$  gives

Titus Gaiusque Coponii, qui ex omnibus maxime Dionis mortem doluerunt, qui cum doctrinae studio atque humanitatis, tum etiam hospitio Dionis tenebantur. Habitabat apud Titum, ut audistis, Dio, erat ei cognitus Alexandriae.

The sense is good, and the Latinity unimpeachable. The *Coponii* also are historical personages, cf. *Balb.* § 53

T. Coponius, civis item summa virtute et diligentia—nepotes T. et C. Coponios nostis.

In *P* the first hand left a lacuna of 4½ lines after *Gaiusque*. *P*<sup>2</sup> inserts 'omni cum doctrina homo atque humanitatis tum etiam hospitio Dionis tenebantur. Habitabat is apud L. Luceium ut audistis, fuerat ei,' etc., leaving blank space for a line before *omni*. *P*<sup>2</sup> is followed by *EG* (and *W*). *S* has been supplemented from the Cluniacensis and reads with  $\Sigma$ , except that for *Titum* it gives *L. Luceium* with *P*<sup>2</sup>, and for *Dio*, *erat* has *fuerat*, also with *P*<sup>2</sup>, thus destroying the sense.

Madvig ejects the addition obtained from *S*, viz. *Coponii . . . doluerunt*, though he confesses that he does not know from what source the 'homo audacissimus, qui ineunte seculo xvi post primas editiones cum codd.

conspirantes haec ita interpolavit' obtained the name of the *Coponii*. He remarks regretfully 'Edendus est igitur necessario locus hoc tristi aspectu: *Titus Caiusque* \* \* † *omni cum doctrina homo atque humanitatis.*'

The other cases are

§ 35 si ea quae facis, quae dicis, quae insimulas, quae moliris, quae arguis, quae probare cogitas  $\Sigma$ .

facis . . . arguis *om.*  $P^1$  in a lacuna of one line and a half.  $P^2$  inserts facis, quae dicis, quae in sororem tuam moliris, quae argumenta.  $S$  agrees with  $\Sigma$ :  $W$  presents a blend of  $P^2$  and  $\Sigma$ , i. e. it has *quae insimulas* from  $\Sigma$ , but retains *argumenta* from  $P^2$ . Halm denounces the supplement as a '*pannus intolerabilis.*' Müller drily remarks 'Has ineptias non esse excogitatas ab aliquo grammatico per se patere crederem, nisi refellerer ab edd.'

§ 49 ut non solum meretrix, sed etiam proterva meretrix procaxque videatur  $\Sigma$  (so  $SW$ ): ut non solum meretrix procaxque videatur *cell.*

The omission is so obviously due to the repetition of *meretrix* that Halm should not have remarked 'lectio non ex cod. aliquo integriore deducta est, sed pro supplemento prudentis alicuius Itali habenda.'

§ 50 aut impudentia et huic et ceteris magnam ad se defendendum facultatem dabit  $\Sigma$  (and  $W$ ): et ceteris magnam ad se *om. cell.* Madvig proposed *aut impudentia ei sui defendendi facultatem*, which cannot be considered gentle treatment.

§ 52 dixeritne Clodiae quam ob rem aurum sumeret, an non dixerit. Si non dixit  $\Sigma$ , *om.*  $P^1$  in a lacuna of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lines.  $P^2$   $EG$  insert the words found in  $\Sigma$  with the variants *ad* for *ob*, and *tum iret* for *sumeret*.  $SW$  give *ob* with  $P^2$ , for *sumeret*  $S$  gives *tum sumeret* (a blend of  $P^2$  and  $\Sigma$ ).  $W$  has *obiret*.

It is to be hoped that in future the text of this speech will be freed from the unsightly asterisks and brackets with which it has in these places been disfigured by most recent editors.

I do not propose to discuss at this point the new light cast upon the text by  $\Sigma$ , but reserve this for subsequent discussion.

In the *pro Cluentio* the same agreement exists between  $\Sigma$  and  $B$  as elsewhere. I would cite the following examples:

- § 7 (543. 12) tandem] tantundem  $B$ , so  $\Sigma$  (*del.*).
- § 107 (572. 33) iure] sine vi  $B$ , so  $\Sigma$ .
- § 110 (573. 30) laudatoris aut advocati] lautioris advocati  $B$ , so  $\Sigma$  (*del.*).
- § 141 (583. 11) assedimus] asse dacemus  $B$ : assedicemus  $\Sigma$ .
- § 154 (587. 29) splendor apud] splendore  $B$ , so  $\Sigma$ .
- § 168 (591. 16) aetas illa] aetas  $B$ , so  $\Sigma$ .
- § 180 (594. 32) serrulam qua illud] serrolam quam illud  $B$ , so  $\Sigma$ .

§ 183 (595. 26) posset] possit *B*, so  $\Sigma$ .

§ 202 (600. 27) non animum] animum *B*, so  $\Sigma$ .

The agreements of  $\Sigma$  or of  $\Sigma B$  with *ST*, the so-called *meliores*, are so constant that it is not necessary to give examples. I have noted fifty-seven agreements of  $\Sigma S$  *sol.*, nine of which occur in the supplements. I instance e. g. the following:

§ 1 (541. 1) animum adverti  $\Sigma B$ : animadverti *cell.* § 12 (545. 1) iudicabitis  $\Sigma S$ : ducetis *cell.* § 36 (551. 30) Romam] Romae  $\Sigma BS$ . § 43 (544. 2) ideo  $\Sigma BS$ : adeo *T.* § 62 (559. 24) de te  $\Sigma S$ : abs te *cell.* § 83 qui] cui quod  $\Sigma S$ : quod *T.* cui *cell.* § 89 (568. 8) quaestionem] quaestionem abreptus est  $\Sigma S$ . § 92 legem aliam] legem aeliam  $\Sigma S$ . § 119 (576. 8) contentam] contemtam  $\Sigma S$ . § 124 (577. 23) cum re coniunctum esse] coniunctum cum re esse  $\Sigma S$ : coniunctum esse cum re *T.* § 141 (583. 4) et] et ex  $\Sigma S$ : ex *T.* § 172 (592. 20) offensiozem] offensorem  $\Sigma S$ .

I quote from the supplements:

§ 103 (571. 25) possimus] possumus  $\Sigma S$ . § 104 (572. 8) aliud si] aliud is  $\Sigma S$ : aliud si is *T.* § 129 (579. 10) qui] quis  $\Sigma S$ . § 180 (594. 32) dentium] dentum  $\Sigma S$ .

Against this I found twenty-two agreements of  $\Sigma T$  against *S*, six of which occur in the supplements, e. g.

§ 7 (543. 3) opinione] opinionibus *T.* so  $\Sigma$  (*del.*). § 23 (548. 1) perpropinquus  $\Sigma T$  (and *P*, the palimpsest): propinquus *cell.* § 49 (555. 27) tum] cum causa  $\Sigma T$ : cum *S.* § 53 (556. 36) cuivis] quovis  $\Sigma T$ . § 74 (563. 23) illo] Aelio  $\Sigma T$ : Staieno *cell.* § 108 (573. 9) distulit] dispulit *T.* so  $\Sigma$  (*del.*). § 190 accusatorem *om.*  $\Sigma T$ .

I quote from the supplements, e. g.

§ 130 in invidiam . . . magnam] in invidia . . . magna  $\Sigma T$ . § 154 (587. 31) cum summa . . . praemia tum] consumma . . . praemixtum  $\Sigma T$ : cum summum . . . praemium *S.* § 177 (594. 14) a Stratone] Stratonem  $\Sigma T$ : per Stratonem *S.*

There are a certain number of cases in which  $\Sigma$  yields no support for the readings of *ST*. Some of these may well be readings of the Cluniacensis, which escaped the vigilance of the French collator. It is possible also that some of them have been erased from the Paris MS. so completely as to leave no trace. Their authenticity is vouched for in some cases where  $\Sigma$  is silent by the testimony of *B*. I instance the following:

§ 11 (544. 22) facile] *om.* *ST* and *B.* § 27 (549. 3) Teano *ST* and *B.*: Teani Apuli *cell.* § 29 (549. 26) de eo de quo] de eo . . quo *B.*: de eo quo *ST.* § 31 (550. 16) Auria] Iulia *ST.*: uiua *B.* § 40 (553. 6) circumforaneum] foranum *ST* and *B.* § 140 (582. 25) posset negare *ST* and *B.*: posset se negare *cell.*

Similarly, others have the support of Italian marginalia, the importance of which will be shown further on, e. g.

§ 3 (542. 2) puniatur. § 17 (546. 8) adiungerer. § 20 (546. 30) retineretur. § 64 (560. 15) corrumpendi iudicii. § 70 (562. 8) ego dem. § 171 (592. 15) an socrus an. *Ib.* (592. 17) tandem eripuit mors. § 174 (592. 22) casum minime . . . haberet.

Σ contains a large number of readings which have not passed into *ST.* Many of these are blunders or orthographical peculiarities of the Cluniacensis which Italian scholars either disregarded from the beginning or rapidly eliminated from the vulgate, e. g.

§ 22 (547. 18) opprensa (= oppressa), § 55 (557. 14) qui viuis (= C. Iunius), § 78 (564. 32) supprestam (= suppressam), § 96 (570. 4) ex causa parte (= ex parte), § 141 (583. 13) filii inequiciam (= filii nequitiam).

An interesting case in which the marginalia preserve an abbreviation which explains the corruption in *ST* is

§ 94 (569. 10) posse] p. Σ (*del.*): publice *ST.*

These cases are, as would be expected, especially frequent in the supplements, since these are copied from Clun., not collated with it, e. g.

§ 103 (571. 30) unos (= uno), *ib.* (l. 36) captanus quam (= captanusquam), § 107 (572. 32) inienio (= ingenio), § 127 (578. 21) haberebantur (i. e. <sup>re</sup> ex habebantur), § 130 (579. 19) subcilionibus (= subscriptionibus), *ib.* (l. 21) multitudinem inillicitum (= multitudini, nemini licitum), *ib.* (l. 23) magna milia (= magnam illa), § 176 (593. 24) seruo millum (= seruom illum), § 193 (598. 14) cumstistendi (= consistendi), *ib.* (l. 16) aut turpi (= aut urbi), § 194 (598. 26) comfido (= confido), § 199 (599. 32) vostram (so 600. 8 vostra).

There are indications in the supplements, that the writer found his original difficult to read, e. g.

§ 132 (580. 8) iudicat accepisse a Cluentio pecuniam. After *iudicat* is a small lacuna. Possibly *eum* should be supplied.

§ 179 (594 24) eiusmodi Cum] The writer first wrote *eiu* . . . . . *um*, and then filled up the blank space with the remaining letters.

It is interesting to note in the supplements some important differences between  $\Sigma$  and *ST*. The chief cases are

§ 128 (578. 33) ne . . . delinqueret  $\Sigma$ : qui . . . deliquerat *ST*. § 152 (586. 34) eques R.  $\Sigma$ : equester ordo *ST*. § 176 (593. 31) vehementissimis  $\Sigma$ : vehementissime *ST*. § 180 (594. 30) quaerebant *ST*, *om.*  $\Sigma$ . § 197 (599. 11) laudationum decreta  $\Sigma$ : laudationem decretam *ST*. § 200 (600. 9) bonitatem  $\Sigma$ : veritatem *ST*.

In all of these editors follow *ST*, while most other MSS. agree with  $\Sigma$ . Are these readings of *ST* due to a more successful decipherment of the Cluniacensis or to Italian ingenuity? We shall shortly see that the latter is the case.

The evidence of  $\Sigma$  shows that many variants of *ST*, to which importance has been attached, are due to a *proprius error* in the ancestor of these two MSS., e. g.

§ 84 (566. 34) istam dedit conciliationis et gratiae fabulam.

These words are omitted by *ST* and bracketed by Baiter.  $\Sigma$  gives the variant *intro (sic)* to be inserted after *istam*, so these words must have been in the Cluniacensis. Similar evidence is yielded by the Excerpts, e. g.:

§ 183 (595. 26) vix ullo iis obsisti modo posset] iis *ST sol.*, *om. cett.*, so also *B*.

Among plausible readings of *S sol.*, contradicted by *B*, may be mentioned

§ 124 (577. 15) censorium stilum . . . aequè posthac atque illum dictatorium gladium pertimescamus] *om.* gladium *S*. Halm brackets the word. It is however found in *B*, so its omission in *S* must be due to an error of that MS.

The general question as to the character of readings of *ST*, for which no warrant is to be found in  $\Sigma$ , is one of the greatest complexity, and cannot be studied profitably until the evidence furnished by other Italian copies of the speech has been set before the reader.

I now proceed to the second part of this discussion, viz. the copies of the Cluniacensis made after its arrival in Italy. It is not likely that many independent copies were made directly from it, since if F. Barbaro was unable to decipher it, there cannot have been many persons capable of doing so. The Italians of this period did not possess much skill in

palaeography. This is shown by a letter of Poggio, in which he reproaches Niccolo Niccoli for sending him a MS. of Tacitus written *litteris Langobardicis*. He explains that what he wanted was the transcript of this made by Coluccio, or some other legible copy, *nam difficile erit reperire scriptorem qui hunc codicem recte legat*<sup>1</sup>. It is interesting in this connexion to recollect what happened in the case of the ancient MS. found at Lodi in 1422 (*cod. Laudensis*), containing the *de Oratore*, *Brutus* and *Orator*. We find the following statement in Voigt<sup>2</sup>: 'The *de Oratore* was first deciphered by Cosimo of Cremona, the scholars of Milan being unable to read it. Gasparino Barzizza then made a recension of the previously known parts' (i. e. those found in the *codices mutili*) 'and the newly discovered MS., which was spread in triumph over Italy. The *Brutus* was copied by Flavio Blondo, whose transcript is now in the Vatican (Ottoboni, 1592), and soon Italy was full of copies, all of which are derived from this.' It will be noticed that while the *Brutus*, which was a new work, was necessarily copied throughout, the method followed by Barzizza in the case of the *de Oratore* was to correct a *codex mutilus* by entering into it supplements and marginalia from the *codex Laudensis*. A similar method was adopted by the Italians in the case of Quintilian. Thus Leonardo Bruni says *Quintilianus tuus laboriosissime emendatur. Permulta sunt enim in nostro vetusto codice, quae addenda tuo videantur*<sup>3</sup>. It is, therefore, to be expected that the Italians would not copy throughout the *pro Milone*, *pro Cluentio*, and *pro Caelio* from the Cluniacensis, but would extract from it supplements and marginalia similar to those found in Par. 14,749.

When tracing the development of the Italian recension, we should in the first place inquire if there are any early dated copies of speeches found only in the Cluniacensis; also, if there are copies written by particular scholars who were likely to have had the opportunity of using it. When dealing with the bulk of MSS. which display no indication of their date, or the circumstances of their transcription, the evidence provided by  $\Sigma$  furnishes us with a clue. It is clear that those Italian copies, which agree most frequently with the French transcript,  $\Sigma$ , are nearest to the fountain-head, and that those are most sophisticated which present corrections and conjectures in place of the corruptions which the testimony of  $\Sigma$  shows to have existed in the Cluniacensis.

<sup>1</sup> Tonelli, I. 213.

<sup>2</sup> i. 245, ed. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Arretini, *Epp.* iv. 9.



The most interesting Italian MSS. known to me are the following :

*A* = Laur. *plut.* XLVIII. 10 (Lag. 10).

$\pi$  = Perus. Bibl. Commun. *E.* 71.

$\chi$  = Laur. *plut.* XLVIII. 25 (Lag. 25).

$\psi$  = Laur. (Gadd.) XC. *sup.* 69. 1 and 2.

*b* = S. Marci 255, now in the National Library at Florence (Lag. 6).

Of minor importance are

$\sigma$  = Pistoensis, Bibl. Forteguerr. *A.* 32.

$\phi$  = Laur. LII. 1 (Lag. 65).

$\omega$  = Laur. XLVIII. 26 (Lag. 26).

The importance of *A* will be seen at once from a *subscriptio* which it contains, viz.

Post mille cccc quinto decimo Salvatoris anno quinto Id. Febr. hoc volumen orationum xxviii M. T. Ciceronis, quod in ccc chartis redactum est, Ioannes Arretinus absolvit Cosmae de Medicis Ioannis F.

This *subscriptio* is published in Bandini's Catalogue of the Laurentian Library, and is reproduced by Halm in his *Handschriftenkunde der Ciceron. Schriften* (p 19), and by Zumpt in his Preface to the *pro Murena*. It is, however, singular and significant of the contempt for historical and chronological considerations shown by all editors that no one has drawn attention to the fact that the MS. was finished early in the year in which the Cluniacensis is supposed to have reached Italy. Bandini speaks of the *recens aetas* of the MS., and merely draws attention to its orthography, which he considers archaic, an unfortunate remark since this is the same throughout the MS., which except in the *Rosciana* and *Mureniana* is vulgar in character. Zumpt quotes the colophon without remark, and immediately goes on to claim for the undated and highly corrected Lag. 9 special connexion with Poggio.

Ioannes Arretinus wrote other MSS., e.g. Laur. LXXVIII. 23, LXXIX. 7 and 11, LXXXII. 6, Vat. 3237, all of which possess similar colophons. He has been identified by De Nolhac <sup>1</sup> with Giovanni Tortelli, the author of a treatise upon orthography, who was known under this name. This identification is very tempting, since it would be natural to expect that a competent scholar would be chosen to execute the first transcript of the Cluniacensis, just as Cosimo of Cremona was selected to decipher the Laudensis. There were, however, several persons at this period known

<sup>1</sup> *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, p. 197.

under this name, and there are chronological difficulties in the way of the identification with Tortelli. Mehus<sup>1</sup> distinguishes between Ioannes Arretinus, a friend and correspondent of Poggio, and Ioannes Arretinus *calligraphus*. I was led to suspect that the writer of *A* was the calligrapher, not the scholar, and Professor Sabbadini, whom I consulted upon the subject, says that this is undoubtedly so.

It is unlikely that *A* can have been copied directly from the illegible Cluniacensis, as it is written in a beautiful hand, and the scribe appears to have had no uncertainty as to what was before him. In all probability a rough copy was made in the first place, and *A* was copied from this. In order to allow time for all this, we must conclude that the Cluniacensis arrived in Italy rather earlier than has been previously supposed, i. e. some time in 1414. The Florentine copyist went to work in a different spirit from that of the French scribes who produced  $\Sigma$ . His object was not to execute a facsimile of the original, but to make a copy which would be read with pleasure by Cosimo de' Medici. Accordingly he removed orthographical peculiarities which survive in  $\Sigma$ <sup>2</sup>, corrected obvious corruptions, and made some conjectures, generally infelicitous. He was a good palaeographer, and found no difficulty in abbreviations and symbols which had puzzled the writer of  $\Sigma$ . He also succeeded in deciphering some passages which the French copyists had given up in despair. Thus *Mur.* § 72 after *tenuiores A* adds *primum nondum qui ea suis*, where  $\Sigma$  leaves a lacuna of fifteen letters, and in the same section *adsequebantur*, where  $\Sigma$  gives *adsequi* before a lacuna of five letters. So § 85 after *impedituri sint A* fills up the beginning of the lacuna with the words *illa pestis immanis et*, and § 86 where after *confectus*  $\Sigma$ <sup>1</sup> leaves a lacuna of twenty-two letters, while  $\Sigma$ <sup>2</sup> adds in the margin *lacrimis ac memore perditus*, *A* has *morbo, lacrimis ac maerore perditus*. I should here be inclined to think *morbo* correct. That, however, the supplements of *A* are not above suspicion is to be seen from § 85, where  $\Sigma$  has *versabitur . . . . . furor*, while *A* fills up the lacuna with the very inept supplement *L. Catilinae*. On the other hand it may be noted that *A* omits § 57 the words *DE POSTVMI CRIMINIBVS DE SERVI ADVLESCENTIS*, which are found in several Italian MSS. as well as in  $\Sigma$ .

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Ambrosii*, i. p. 448.

<sup>2</sup> He, however, generally retains the spelling *luxoria*, and frequently has forms like *existumo, voigus*. In *Rosc.* § 108 (59. 9) he has the archaic form *quur*. On the other hand *Rosc.* § 134 (66. 22) he gives *coquos* where several Italian MSS. have *cocos* with  $\Sigma$ .

*A*, as is to be expected, has a number of striking agreements with  $\Sigma$ , e.g.

*Rosc.* § 1 (30. 2) surrexerim is  $\Sigma$ : surrexerimus *A*: surrexerim *cell.* § 30 (38. 15) decus  $\Sigma A$ : dedecus *cell.* § 51 (43. 18) assiduus  $\Sigma^2 A$ : assiduus *cell.* § 67 (48. 4) parentium  $\Sigma A\pi$ : parentum *cell.* § 68 (48. 7) sūtius  $\Sigma$  *mg.*: sumptu||us *A*: sumptus *cell.* § 89 (54. 4) paternorum  $\Sigma A\omega$ : patronorum *cell.* § 102 (57. 19) ut dissimulare  $\Sigma A$ : ut si dissimulare *cell.* § 138 (67. 35) decerne ||  $\Sigma$ : decernere *A*: decerne *cell.*

*Mur.* § 7 (719. 7) cattio  $\Sigma$ : captio *A*: accusatio *cell.* § 13 (721. 14) marre anni ripere  $\Sigma A$ : marce arripere *cell.* § 18 (723. 6) momentu  $\Sigma A\pi^2$ : momento *cell.* § 26 (725. 29) aios  $\Sigma A$ : aio *cell.* Ib. (726. 10) rudebantur  $\Sigma$ : ridebantur *A*: videbantur *cell.* Ib. (1. 12) conspicios  $\Sigma A$ : conspicio *cell.* § 30 (728. 3) duae sint artes  $\Sigma A$ : duae sunt artes *cell.* § 73 (745. 13) vitricos  $\Sigma A$ : vitrico *cell.* § 86 (750. 4) cum  $\Sigma A$ : causa *cell.*

It will be noticed that three times in the *pro Murena A* agrees with  $\Sigma$  in preserving the superfluous -s final, which from time to time occurred in the Cluniacensis<sup>1</sup>.

In two cases *A* puts an interpretation upon signs occurring in the Cluniacensis which have been reproduced by  $\Sigma$ , viz.

*Rosc.* § 104 (58. 2) quid tu vir <sup>"</sup>omptume <sup>"</sup>ecquid  $\Sigma$ : et quid tu, vir optime *A*, taking the symbols to denote transposition.

*Mur.* § 86 (760. 16) in|tu|etur  $\Sigma$ : tuctur *A* (and *B*), confining the obelization to the first syllable.

In some passages where the Cluniacensis was difficult to read the solution offered by *A* is inferior to that found in later Italian copies, e.g.

*Rosc.* § 55 (44. 19) Remmiam] rem miram *A.* § 76 (50. 16) arcessivit] arcessunt *A.* § 133 (66. 16) quid praeco enumeraret] quid praetium numerare *A.*

*Mur.* § 32 (729. 12) pugnax et acer et] pugna excitaret *A.* § 90 (752. 2) cupidissimum otii] cupidissime *A.*

It has certain *proprii errores* which I have not found in other Italian MSS., e.g.

*Rosc.* § 3 (30. 17) esse propter nobilitatem et amplitudinem potest. § 6 (31. 5) et fortissimo *om.* § 14 (33. 19) vobis *om.* § 18 (34. 24) est suspiciosum adhuc. § 39 (40. 22) nimirum *om.* § 50 (43. 6) convenerunt] tenuerunt. § 76 (50. 15) falsa] flagitia. § 116 (61. 11) socium *om.*

*Mur.* § 25 (725. 15) prope *om.* § 51 (736. 29) esse duo corpora. § 70

<sup>1</sup> See p. xix.

(743. 31) concedam] contendam. § 73 (745. 13) suum] sane. § 77 (746. 26) tamen per monitorem] causam per monitores.

A peculiar feature of *A* is that in the *Rosciana* it ends with the words *ista aucto* (pp. 72-3) omitting most of § 154.

The *Miloniana* and *Caeliana* are in *A* thoroughly vulgar, and show no trace of readings taken from the Cluniacensis. In the *Cluentiana* the first four lacunae characteristic of the *deteriores* are found in it. The last part of the speech, however, viz. §§ 192-202, omitted by them, is given in *A*. This I consider to have been added from the Cluniacensis. Ioannes Arretinus could not help noticing the addition at the end of the speech in the Cluniacensis. It was not until the illegible MS. was carefully collated that it was found to contain the other passages omitted by the vulgar MSS.<sup>1</sup> Confirmation of this theory is furnished by two colophons to the *pro Cluentio*, which I shall shortly quote, found in Perus. E. 71 ( $\pi$ ) and Laur. LII. 1 ( $\phi$ ), and it is, I think, verified by the fact that in these sections *A* has noteworthy agreements with  $\Sigma$ , against all or nearly all other Italian copies, e. g.

§ 193 (598. 16) aut urbi] aut turpi  $\Sigma A$ . § 196 (599. 5) iudiciumque] iudicium qui  $\Sigma A$ . § 197 (599. 8) existumare  $\Sigma A$ . ib. Ferentani] Frentrani  $\Sigma A$ . § 199 (l. 32) vostramque  $\Sigma A$ . ib. (l. 34) crudelitate et scelere] crudelitatem et sceleri  $\Sigma A$ . § 202 (600. 27) iniquus] iniquos  $\Sigma A$  (and *B*). ib. (l. 28) parentem] parentum  $\Sigma A$ . ib. non animum] animum  $\Sigma A$ .

It will be noticed that in four cases *A* preserves orthographical peculiarities of the Cluniacensis.

Although the *fides* of *A* is very inferior to that of  $\Sigma$ , since it is tainted by conjecture, its importance is great on account of the light which it throws upon the development of the Italian vulgate. Also, *A* is an independent witness, and when its testimony coincides with that of  $\Sigma$  it can hardly be doubted that we have the genuine reading of the Cluniacensis. I have, therefore, judged it proper to combine a collation of *A* in the portions taken from the Cluniacensis, viz. in the *pro Roscio*, *pro Murena*, and *Cluent*. §§ 192-202, by marking with an asterisk its

<sup>1</sup> Since this has been in print I have found fresh evidence in the *Enarratio Antonii Luschi*, written at the beginning of the fifteenth century. His last note is on § 190, after which he says, *finem determinatum et certum huius orationis habere non potui*. Also, he has no note on any passage contained in the other supplements except § 103 *dixit-ne . . . Falcula*. This, however, is quoted by Quintil. ix. 2. 8, so the source is obvious.

agreements with  $\Sigma$  or with the lemma, and, where it differs from both, giving its readings at the foot of the page.

The readings of *A*, as reported by Lagomarsini, have not attracted much attention. Halm and Zumpt set undue store upon sophisticated MSS. such as *S* (*M*) or Lag. 9. The first editor to speak well of it was C. F. W. Müller, who joins it with Lagg. 24, 26, 65 as being the four best of these MSS. Nohl, who in his Preface to the *Mureniana* (1889) shows a firmer grasp of the textual problem than previous scholars, places it with Lagg. 13, 18, 24, 26, 65 in his class  $\beta$ .

The Perugia MS. ( $\pi$ ), like *A*, is dated. It was written in 1416, i. e. <sup>Perus.</sup> one year after *A*. We are thus enabled to study the development of the <sup>E. 71.</sup> Italian vulgate during those twelve months.

The MS. is thus described by Mazzatinti:

Orazioni di Cicerone. La prima è Pro Cluentio animadverti iudices etc. fin. con alcune postille alle orazioni e con l' oraz. Pro Murena<sup>1</sup> che termina 'amictimus Anno Domini 1416,' etc.

I was prevented by shortness of time from myself visiting Perugia in order to collate  $\pi$ . The collation which I have was made for me by Mr. E. O. Winstedt, Senior Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, whose kindness I gratefully acknowledge.

It is clear that  $\pi$  is not copied from *A*, since

(1) None of the *proprii errores* of *A* previously mentioned occur in it. I do not lay stress upon the fact that it contains the last section of the *Rosciana*, which is omitted by *A*, since this might have been added to a transcript of *A*.

(2) In many cases  $\pi$  agrees with  $\Sigma$  against *A*, and most other MSS., e. g.

*Rosc.* § 117 (61. 19) de scelere  $\Sigma$ : de <sup>eius</sup> ejuꝛ scelere  $\pi$ : de eius scelere *A cell.*

*Mur.* § 8 (719. 31) si exiceperis  $\Sigma$ : sic exiceperis  $\pi$ : et si ceperis *A cell.*

§ 57 (738. 25) DE POSTVMI CRIMINIBVS DE SERVI ADVLESCENT.  $\Sigma\pi$  (and  $\chi^2$ ): *om. A*<sup>1</sup> $\psi$ .

$\pi$  is not so closely connected with  $\Sigma$  as *A* is. I quoted previously seventeen cases of striking agreement between  $\Sigma A$ . In two only of these does  $\pi = \Sigma A$ , viz. *Rosc.* § 67 *parentium*; *Mur.* § 18 *momentu*. On the other hand there are a large number of minor agreements between  $\Sigma A \pi$  against other MSS., e. g.

<sup>1</sup> This must be an error for *Sex. Rosc.*, which ends with *amittimus*. The last word of the *Mur.* is *spondeam*.

*Rosc.* § 31 (38. 20) minae  $\Sigma A\pi$ : in me  $\sigma\chi\psi$ . ib. ac subibo  $\Sigma A\pi$ : atque subibo  $\sigma\chi\psi$ . § 56 (45. 1) deo  $\Sigma A\pi$ : deos  $\chi\psi^1$ : eo  $\psi^2$ . § 110 (59. 20) ac vere  $\Sigma A\pi$ : acuere  $\sigma\chi\psi$ . § 115 (60. 30) paululum  $\Sigma A\pi$ : paulum  $\sigma\chi\psi$ . § 126 (64. 10) recesserunt  $\Sigma A\pi$ : disceperunt  $\sigma\chi$ : discesserunt  $\psi$ . § 134 (67. 1) officina  $\Sigma A\pi$ : quam officina  $\sigma\chi\psi$ . § 146 (69. 30) propter  $\Sigma A\pi$ : praeter  $\sigma\chi\psi$ . § 149 (70. 32) nati sint  $\Sigma A\pi$ : nati sunt  $\chi\psi$ .

*Mur.* § 1 (717. 1) fides  $\Sigma A\pi$ : *om.*  $B\chi\psi$ . § 3 (717. 22) dirigenti  $\Sigma A\pi$ : dirigenti  $\chi\psi$ . § 20 (723. 22) obit  $\Sigma A\pi$ . § 26 (726. 2) litigiosum  $\Sigma A\pi$ : litigioso  $\chi\psi$ . § 28 (727. 21) contraversum  $\Sigma A\pi$ : controversum  $\chi\psi$ . § 40 (732. 23) Otho  $\Sigma A\pi$ : Otho  $\chi\psi$ . § 58 (739. 7) prodesse possit  $\Sigma A\pi$ : prodesset  $\chi\psi$ . Ib. (l. 9) erat in  $\Sigma A\pi$ : erat in eo  $\chi\psi$ . Ib. (l. 12) plurimam  $\Sigma A\pi$ : plurimum  $\chi\psi$ . § 59 (739. 15) iniuriae  $\Sigma A\pi$ .

The affinities of  $\pi$  are, as was to be expected, closer with  $A$  than with  $\Sigma$ , e. g.

*Rosc.* § 33 (39. 13) servare per cos. repositionem  $A\pi$ : *variant cett.* § 64 (47. 7) tam esse] sane  $A\pi$ : sa est  $\Sigma$ : satis est  $\sigma\chi\psi$ . § 76 (50. 18) arcessunt  $A\pi$ : arcessi vita  $\Sigma$ : arcessivit  $\sigma\chi\psi$ . § 82 (52. 10) ibi nos quoque  $A\pi$ : ibi quoque nos  $\Sigma\chi\psi$ .

*Mur.* § 9 (720. 5) causa  $A\pi\psi^2$ : arum  $\Sigma$ : causarum  $\chi\psi^1$ . § 67 (742. 28) corrupti  $A\pi$ : conducti  $\Sigma\chi\psi$ . § 86 (750. 14) morbo  $A\pi$ : *om. cett.* Ib. (l. 16) tuetur  $A\pi$ : in̄t̄uet̄ur  $\Sigma$ : intuetur  $\chi\psi$ .

A few conjectures, or corrections, appear in  $\pi$ , e. g.

*Mur.* § 4 (718. 8) ingrediuntur] ingrediantur  $\pi$ . § 32 (729. 10) omnibus regibus quibuscum  $\pi$ : omnibus quibus regibus cum  $\Sigma$ : omnibus quibuscum regibus  $A\chi\psi$ . § 49 (736. 4) obscuriores  $\pi\psi^2$ : obscurior ei *cett.*

The end of the *pro Cluentio* is found in  $\pi$ , as in  $A$ . It is accompanied by the very interesting note, *Incipit finis huius noviter repertus*. In four out of the nine cases of special agreement previously quoted (p. xli)  $\pi = \Sigma A$ , viz. 598. 16 aut turpi, 599. 8 Frentani, 600. 27 iniquos, ib. 28 *om. non.* A special agreement of  $\Sigma\pi$  is 598. 4 luctus] luctuus  $\Sigma\pi$ .

Laur. LII. 1.

I now turn to  $\phi$  (Laur. LII. 1, Lag. 65). This MS. is not dated, but a colophon to the *pro Cluentio*, viz. *Finis Cluentianae noviter repertus*, would seem to show that it is an early copy. Its readings are generally identical with those of  $\pi$ , as may be seen from the fact that  $\phi$  agrees with  $\pi$  in *all* the instances quoted above of minor agreements between  $\Sigma A\pi$ , and *all* the cases given to show special affinity between  $\pi$  and  $A$ . The only differences are in the cases quoted from  $\pi$  to show special agreement with  $\Sigma$ . Here  $\phi$  compares unfavourably with  $\pi$  in four

cases out of five, viz. *Rosc.* § 117 *de eius scelere*  $\phi$ ; *Mur.* § 57 *ADOLESCENTIA*  $\phi$ ; *Rosc.* § 67 *parentum*  $\phi$ ; *Mur.* § 18 *momento*  $\phi$ . On the other hand *Mur.* § 8  $\phi$  gives *si exiceperis* with  $\Sigma$ .

To these I would add

*Rosc.* § 74 (49. 29) *quir*  $\Sigma\pi\psi^1$ : *quire*  $\chi$ : *cur*  $A\phi\psi^2$ : *om.  $\sigma$  in lac.* § 75 (50. 9) *luxoria*  $\pi$ : *luxuria*  $\phi$ . § 89 (53. 29) *nactus*  $\Sigma\pi$ : *nactus*  $\phi$ .

*Mur.* § 2 (717. 12) *tralata*  $\Sigma\pi$ : *translata*  $\phi$  *cell.* § 20 (723. 21) *fundit*  $\Sigma\pi$ : *fudit*  $\phi$  *cell.* § 22 (724. 21) *conticiscunt*  $\Sigma\pi\chi$ : *conticescunt*  $\phi$  *cell.* § 26 (726. 13) *tudiciis*  $\Sigma\pi$ : *tu dicis*  $A\phi$ : *tu dicis*  $\chi\psi$ . § 30 (728. 3) *possint*  $\Sigma A\pi$ : *possunt* *cell.* § 86 (750. 11) *observatis*  $\Sigma\pi\chi^1$ : *obstruatis*  $A\phi$ : *obruatis*  $\chi^2\psi$ . § 90 (752. 2) *cupidissimum osci*  $\Sigma$ : *cupidissim. hosti*  $\pi$ : *cupidissimi hostes*  $\phi$ .

I should not, however, consider that  $\phi$  was copied from  $\pi$ , since occasionally it is nearer to what must have been the reading of the Cluniacensis, e. g.

*Rosc.* § 89 (54. 4) *paternorum*  $\Sigma A\phi$ : *patronorum*  $\pi\sigma\chi\psi$ . § 107 (58. 28) *iudiciuae*  $\Sigma$ : *indiciue*  $A$ : *iudicine*  $\phi$ : *indicii*  $\pi\sigma\chi\psi$ . § 134 (66. 22) *cocos*  $\Sigma B\sigma\phi\omega$ : *coquos*  $A\pi\psi$ .

Also, although some alterations of the second hand in  $\pi$  are adopted in  $\phi$ , others are not, e. g.

*Rosc.* § 42 (41. 9) *mihi usu*  $\Sigma$ : "usu"  $\pi$ : *usu mihi*  $A\phi$ . § 110 (59. 24) *fretum ora*  $\pi$ : *fretum ora*  $\phi$ . § 117 (61. 19) *eijs*  $\pi$ : *eius*  $\phi$ .

*Mur.* § 11 (720. 34) *triumpharet*  $\pi$ : *triumpharet*  $\phi$ . § 79 (747. 22) *hic et*  $\pi$ : *hic et*  $\phi$ .

The conjectures noticed in  $\pi$  are also found in  $\phi$ , which contains others peculiar to itself, e. g.

*Mur.* § 11 (720. 29) *sed in]* *sed etiam in*  $\phi$ : *sed et in* *cell.* § 25 (725. 24) *pervulgata]* *promulgata*  $\phi$ . § 27 (726. 23) *quia*  $\phi\psi^2$ : *cuia* *cell.* § 58 (739. 4) *deprecabor]* *deprecor*  $\phi$ . § 62 (741. 1) *cui*  $\Sigma$  (*sui* *Halm*): *eius*  $A\pi\chi\psi$ : *eiusdem*  $\phi$ .

I would note that  $\phi$  is wrongly reported in Halm's edition to be free from the usual dislocation *Mur.* § 15 (722. 7), and to read *parta* *Mur.* § 55 (738. 6), where it has *parata* with all other MSS.

In the *pro Cluentio* the lacunae §§ 102-107 and 126-132, characteristic of the *deteriores*, exist in  $\phi$ . It also has a mutilation peculiar to itself, viz. it ends at § 146 with the words *legum denique idcirco*. After these comes the newly discovered end of the speech, §§ 192-202. In

these eleven sections  $\phi$  agrees throughout with  $\Sigma A$ , as against  $ST$ . It does not, however, exhibit such striking agreements with  $\Sigma$  as those previously quoted from  $A\pi$ . Of the nine passages there given  $\phi = \Sigma A$  in two only, viz. § 193 *aut turpi*, § 202 *animum* (without *non*): in the other seven it reads with the other MSS. against  $\Sigma A$  or  $\Sigma A\pi$ .

Laur.  
XLVIII. 25. While  $\pi$  and its congener  $\phi^1$  are the most authentic Italian copies after  $A$ , peculiar interest attaches to  $\chi$  on account of its remarkable though sporadic agreements with  $\Sigma$ . The most striking cases are

*Mur.* § 85 *illa pestis immanis A $\pi\psi$ : om.  $\Sigma\chi$ .*

ib. *qua po . . . . .  $\Sigma\chi$ : qua p. r.  $A\pi\psi^1$  (qua populo Romano  $\phi$ ): qua poterit et iam  $\psi^2$ .*

ib. *versabitur . . . . .  $\Sigma\chi$ : versabitur L. Catilinae  $A$ : versabitur in castris  $\pi\psi$ .*

It is not a little remarkable that the writer of  $\chi$ , or the MS. from which it is derived, should on three occasions in the same section have failed to make out exactly the same words as those which baffled the French scribes. Another singular case is

*Mur.* § 51 (737. 3). Here  $\Sigma$  before *erupit* has in the text the curious word *Cue* (with marginal variants *que* and *cur*). *Cue* is also given by  $\chi^1$  *sol.*: cum  $A\pi\psi^1$ : qui  $\chi^2$ : tum  $\psi$ .

Other cases are

*Rosc.* § 33 (39. 13) *servare per conservare posicionem  $\Sigma\chi^1$ , variant cett.*  
§ 72 (49. 7) *animam  $\Sigma\chi$ : animum cett.*

*Mur.* § 13 (721. 16) *cumspicere  $\Sigma\chi^1$ : conspicere  $A\pi\psi$ : circumspicere  $\chi^2$ .*  
§ 32 (729. 12) *exetaceret  $\Sigma$ : exaceraret  $\chi\psi^2$ : excitaret  $A\pi\psi$ .*

Together with these readings, which testify to fresh examination of the Cluniacensis, we find in  $\chi$  a number of corrections and conjectures, e.g.

*Rosc.* § 17 (34. 17) *sciam] scientiam  $\chi$ .* § 27 (37. 15) *qua . . . usus  $\chi^1$ : quam . . . usus cett.* § 43 (41. 14) *patres familias  $\chi$ , ed. Veneta: patres familiae cett.* § 47 (42. 11) *ii  $\chi$ , coni. Halm: hi cett.* § 49 (42. 31) *feret  $\chi^1$ : ferret  $\Sigma A\pi\chi^2\psi$ : ferre  $\sigma\phi$ .* § 60 (46. 2) *pupugisset  $\chi\psi^2$ , Diomedes: pepugisset cett.* § 74 (49. 28) *si Ameria  $\chi$ , ed. Ascens.: si Ameriae cett.* § 77 (50. 27) *Q. Metelle  $\chi$ : Metelle cett.* § 78 (51. 2) *in insidiis  $\chi$ , coni. Halm: insidiis cett.* § 141 (68. 21) *posse  $\chi\psi$ : om. cett.*

*Mur.* § 6 (718. 23) *ex urbe  $\chi$ : et urbe cett.* § 7 (719. 5) *abiit  $\chi\psi$ : abit  $\Sigma A\pi$ .*

<sup>1</sup> As  $\phi$  nearly always agrees with  $\pi$ , I have not mentioned its readings except where they differ from those of  $\pi$ .



§ 20 (723. 22) refertam  $\chi^2\psi$ : repertam *cell.* § 30 (728. 8) ad honorem  $\chi$ : ab honorem  $\Sigma$ : ab honore  $A\pi\psi$ . § 32 (729. 17) ipse conatu  $\chi$ : ipse conatuque *cell.* § 33 (730. 3) ad Tenedum  $\chi$ : attened  $\Sigma A\pi$ : attenedo  $\psi$ . § 49 (736. 9) vultus ipsius erat  $\chi$ , *edd. rec.*: vultus erat ipsius *cell.* § 90 (751. 25) alienissima a  $\chi$  (and  $B$ ): alienissima *cell.*

It is obvious that  $\chi$  contains the results of much critical ingenuity, as well as of a fresh collation of the Cluniacensis.

In the *pro Cluentio*  $\chi$  is one of Classen's *codices integri* (cf. p. ix), i. e. all the lacunae have been filled up. In the supplement at the end of the speech, where we are able to compare it with  $A\pi$ , we can trace the influence of correction and conjecture, e. g. none of the nine readings quoted above from  $\Sigma A$  are found in it. On the other hand, neither in this nor in the other supplements does it yield any support to the special readings of *ST*.

I now turn to  $\psi$  (Gadd. XC. *sup.* 69. 1 and 2). This MS. consists of two volumes, both written in the same hand, and containing the name of a previous owner, *Bernardi de Puccinis*. It has been injured by damp, especially in the *Cluentiana*. It contains, together with a number of other speeches, all of those discovered by Poggio.

This MS. possesses extraordinary interest on account of the marginalia which it contains and the light which they throw upon the development of the latest Italian recension found in *S*.

In the *Rosciana* and *Mureniana*  $\psi$  shows traces of a fresh examination of the Cluniacensis in its text as apart from the marginalia. I have noted the following agreements of  $\psi^1$  with  $\Sigma$ , or  $\Sigma A(\pi)$  in the *pro Murena*.

§ 11 (720. 34) triumphares  $\Sigma A\psi$ . § 12 (721. 4) abiciendum  $\Sigma A\psi$ . § 13 (721. 13) vero  $\Sigma\psi$ . § 21 (724. 2) habitarint  $\Sigma\pi\psi$ . § 30 (728. 13) videtur respertitur  $\Sigma A\pi\psi$ . § 36 (731. 11) quis Q.] quisque  $\Sigma\psi$ . § 42 (733. 15) nolui] voluisti  $\Sigma\psi$ . § 56 (738. 19) deberent  $\Sigma\psi$ . § 90 (752. 2) otii] osci  $\Sigma$ : hosti  $\pi\psi$ .

Other readings of  $\psi^1$  are characteristic of *A*, e. g.

*Mur.* § 28 (727. 20) videre] iudicare  $A\psi$ . § 72 (744. 26) primum nondum qui  $A\pi\psi$ .

Or of  $\chi$ , e. g.

§ 9 (720. 5) causa] causarum  $\chi\psi$ . § 11 (720. 34) ut] ne ut  $\chi\psi$ . § 36 concitantur] excitantur  $\chi\psi$ . § 65 (742. 3) humanitatis] severitatis  $\chi\psi$ .

Or are due to conjecture, e. g.

§ 13 (721. 20) hoc] id  $\psi$ . § 42 (730. 24) intelligunt] intelligent  $\psi$ . § 44 (734. 15) et ex] ut ex  $\psi$ . § 56 (738. 19) inimico] inimicorum  $\psi$ . § 60 (740. 8) patitur] patiatur  $\psi$ . § 61 (741. 7) est  $\psi$ , *ed. Ascens.*: sed *cell.*

It will be seen that the text of  $\psi$  is highly composite. The marginalia are still more so. They consist of

(1) Readings characteristic of  $\Sigma$ , e. g.

*Rosc.* § 92 (55. 16) nunc] non  $\Sigma\psi^2$  (*S*). § 101 (57. 16) nos istorum  $\psi^2$  (*S*): non istorum  $\Sigma$ : istorum *cell.*

*Mur.* § 17 (722. 25) iacebant  $\Sigma$ : iacebam  $\psi^2$  (*S*). § 30 (728. 7) nunc] non nunc  $\Sigma$ : non  $\psi^2$ . § 32 (729. 12) exetaceret  $\Sigma$ : exaceraret  $\psi\chi^2$  (exacetaret *S*): excitaret *cell.* § 56 (738. 18) alienis exitio  $\psi^2$  (*S*) *et sic fere*  $\Sigma$ , *variant cell.*

(2) Of *A*, e. g.

*Rosc.* § 1 (30. 1) cum] quom  $A\pi^2\psi^2$ . *Mur.* § 47 (734. 14) cui  $A\psi^2$  (*S*): cum *cell.* § 86 (750. 14) sordibus  $A\psi^2$  (*S*): sordidus  $\Sigma\pi\chi\psi^1$ . § 90 (751. 29) tota causa  $A\psi^2$  (causa tota *S*): tota *cell.*

(3) Corruptions which appear to be the result of a fresh attempt to decipher the Cluniacensis, e. g.

*Rosc.* § 44 (41. 8) amandarat] emendarat  $\psi^2$  (*S*). § 133 (66. 15) authepsa] an hepsa  $\psi^2$  (anthepsa *S*). *Mur.* § 25 (725. 25) quaedam] attedam  $\psi^2$ : acaedam *cell.* § 58 (739. 14) nimiis] unius  $\psi^2$  (*S*). § 86 (750. 14) confectus idem  $\psi^2$  (*S*): confectus morbo  $A\pi\phi$ : confectus *cell.*

(4) Variants found in other MSS., e. g.

*Rosc.* § 52 (43. 26) perraro] raro  $\sigma\chi\psi^2$ . § 110 (59. 23) depecisci] depacisci  $\chi\psi^2$ . *Mur.* § 26 (726. 2) litigioso  $\chi\psi^2$ : litigiosum *cell.* § 27 (726. 23) quia  $\pi\psi^2$ : quia *cell.* § 49 (736. 2) obscuriores  $\pi\psi^2$ : obscurior ei *cell.* § 79 (747. 21) spelulis] speluncis  $\chi^2\psi^2$ .

(5) Corrections from ancient authors, e. g.

*Mur.* § 30 (728. 11) pellitur  $\psi^2$  (*S*), Gellius xx. 10: bellitur  $\Sigma$ : tollitur *cell.*  
Ib. § 80 (748. 1) cives, cives  $\psi^2$  (*S*), Quintil. ix. 2. 18: quae siue  $\Sigma^1$ : quaesieue  $\Sigma$  *mg*: quae cives  $A\pi$ : quae si cives  $\chi\psi^1$ : cives  $\phi$ .

(6) Corrections and conjectures.

Sometimes these are introduced by the symbol <sup>1</sup>  $\hat{C}$ , e. g.

<sup>1</sup> This symbol (= *corrigas* or *coniiicinus*) also occurs in Poggio's transcript of Asconius Matr. x. 81 (cf. *Classical Rev.* x. 302), and in the well-known MS. of the Letters to Atticus (Laur. XLIX. 18), where O. E. Schmidt wishes to explain it as an abbreviation of Coluccius (Die handschrift. Ueberlieferung der Briefe Ciceros, p. 11).

*Rosc.* § 66 (47. 17) quos]  $\dot{C}$  quod (*S*). *Mur.* § 47 (735. 16) praerogationem]  $\dot{C}$  prorogationem. § 89 (751. 24) excidet]  $\dot{C}$  exciderit (*S*). § 90 (751. 29) causa *om.*  $\psi^1$  (so  $\Sigma B\pi\chi$ ):  $\dot{C}$  causa (*S*). So *Mur.* § 28 (727. 20), where for *videare*  $\psi^1$  gives *iudicare* (with *A*),  $\psi^2$  adds  $\dot{C}$  *videare*.

Usually, however, they are merely given as variants. These form a goodly list and contain some certain conjectures, together with less successful efforts. Nearly all of them have been incorporated by *S*, including the following

*Rosc.* § 11 (32. 23) acria  $\psi^2S$ : acra *cell*<sup>1</sup>. § 34 (39. 22) de  $\psi^2S$ , *om. cell*. § 44 (41. 21) haec a te vita et  $\psi^2S$ : haec attente vita et *cell*. § 56 (45. 1) eo  $\psi^2S$ : deo  $\Sigma A\pi$ : deos  $\chi\psi^1$ . § 57 (45. 13) affigent  $\psi^2S^2$ : affingent *cell*. § 76 (50. 13) qui  $\psi^2S$ : *om. cell*. § 120 (62. 24) cum domino esse  $\psi^2S$ : enim dominos esse *cell*. § 122 (63. 8) tuine  $\psi^2S$ : tui *cell*. § 126 (64. 10) si  $\psi^2S$ : *om. cell*. § 128 (64. 24) nulla ratione  $\psi^2S$ : nulla *cell*. § 133 (66. 16) enumerare  $\sigma\psi^2S$ : *variant cell*. § 146 (69. 31) causa reservavit  $\psi^2S$ : causa clare servavit *cell*.

*Mur.* § 4 (718. 6) solent et  $\psi^2S$ : solent ei  $\Sigma A\pi$ : solent eis  $\chi\psi^1$ . § 8 (719. 19) consulatum adfui (ab- *S*)  $\psi^2S$ : *om. cell*. § 9 (720. 10) causa  $\psi^2S$ : causae *cell*. § 13 (721. 12) L. Murenam  $\psi^2S$ : fl. (falso  $\psi^1$ ) Murenam *cell*. *ib.* (l. 14) Marce Cato  $\psi^2S$  (*etiam B*): Marce (marre  $\Sigma A$ ) *cell*. § 19 (723. 11) spatium quo (quod *S*) in  $\psi^2S$ : spatium in *cell*. § 24 (725. 10) largitioni  $\psi^2S$ : largitione *cell*. § 25 (725. 17) in isto studio  $\psi^2S$ : in istros duo *cell*. § 26 (726. 4) praetor  $\psi^2S$ : praeter *cell*. *ib.* (l. 7) in illo suis] nullo usui  $\psi^2S$ . *ib.* (l. 9) barbatos  $\psi^2S$ : barbaros *cell*. § 30 (728. 10) novus  $\psi^2S$ : novos *cell*. § 31 (728. 19) nos nostris  $\psi^2S$ : vos nostris *cell*. § 34 (730. 13) L. Lucullus] Luculli  $\psi^2S$ : L. *cell*. § 35 (731. 3) quos fluctus  $\psi^2S$ : que fluctuum *cell*. *ib.* (l. 8) quasi ipse non fecerit *del.  $\psi^2$ : om. S*. § 37 (731. 23) altera  $\psi^2S$ : *om. cell*. *ib.* (l. 24) exercitum Luculli significat *del.  $\psi^2$ : om. S*. § 45 (734. 20) certam  $\psi^2S$ : testam *cell*. § 49 (736. 6) militum tum  $\psi^2S^2$ : militum *cell*. § 51 (736. 30) cum ita  $\psi^2S$ : si ita *cell*. *ib.* (737. 3) tum erupit  $\psi^2S$ : *variant cell*. § 56 (738. 19) inimico  $\psi^2S$ : *variant cell*. § 60 (739. 29) non possum  $\psi^2S$ : *om. cell*. § 64 (741. 23) custodem  $\psi^2S$ : custodiam *cell*. § 69 (743. 19) rogati  $\psi^2S$ : roganti *cell*. § 70 (744. 5) non sectentur  $\psi^2S$ : aut sectentur *cell*. § 77 (746. 27) cur ante  $\psi^2S$ : curam *cell*. *ib.* narravit  $\psi^2S$ : inceravit *cell*. § 83 (749. 10) iudicaret  $\psi^2S$ : indicarit *cell*. § 85 (749. 25) qua poterit et iam  $\psi^2S$ : *variant cell*. § 90 (752. 2) ut cupidissimum otii  $\psi^2S$ : *variant cell*.

<sup>1</sup> I. e. *cell. mei*. I cannot undertake to record the readings of all the inferior MSS. employed by Halm. In several cases Lag. 9 agrees with  $\psi^2S$ .

The corrections not adopted by *S* are few in number. I have noted the following

*Rosc.* § 20 (35. 13) ruri  $\psi^2$ : rus *cett.* (*rusticum edd.*). § 60 (46. 2) pupugisset  $\psi^2$  and  $\chi$ : pepugisset *cett.* § 81 (51. 30) circumcursabant  $\psi^2$ : *variant cett.* § 141 (68. 16) quod iter  $\psi^2$ , *ed. Ascens.*: et quod iter *cett.* *Mur.* § 42 (733. 16) consulto  $\psi^2$ : consule *cett.* § 48 (735. 29) quoad  $\psi^2$ : quod *cett.* § 77 (746. 27) ad quid cum  $\psi^2$ : aut quid cum *S*: *variant cett.*

The dependence of *S* upon  $\psi^2$  is clearly shewn by the following cases

*Rosc.* § 55 (44. 19) Remmiam] re<sup>m</sup>3 iam  $\psi^1$ : remmiam *al* eruci  $\psi^2$  *in mg*: Eruci iam *S*.

*Mur.* § 27 (726. 24) cuia  $\psi$ : caia qui *S*. § 30 (728. 13) vi geritur res spernitur] videtur respuitur  $\psi$ : videtur respui spernitur *S*. § 76 (746. 22) istuc me] is tunc me  $\psi$ : ais an<sup>ais an</sup> me *S*.

I would draw particular attention to the omission by *S* of the words *quasi ipse non fecerit* in § 35. In  $\psi$  we find <sup>va</sup>*quasi ipse non fecerit*.<sup>cat</sup> The omission, therefore, which editors have treated as accidental, is due to a bold, but not improbable conjecture<sup>1</sup>.

The close connexion thus established between  $\psi^2$  and *S* in the case of these two speeches will be found to exist in other speeches contained by both MSS.

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255.

I now proceed to discuss the light thrown by  $\psi$  upon the other speeches found in it which we know to have existed in the Clunianensis, viz. the *pro Milone*, *pro Caelio*, and *pro Cluentio*. In their case we have fresh evidence furnished by another MS., S. Marci 255 (*b*), which I have not previously dealt with as it does not contain the *pro Roscio* and *pro Murena*. This MS. was used by Lagomarsini, who described it as S. Marci 106, or Lag. 6. It was termed *b* by Classen, who drew attention to the marginalia which it contains in the *pro Cluentio*, on account of their agreement with his *melior familia*, viz. *ST*. I was naturally anxious to see these marginalia, but had great difficulty in identifying the MS. This was due partly to the fact that the *codices Marciani* have been distributed between the Laurentian

<sup>1</sup> The symbol *vacat* is also employed in  $\psi$  to delete the words *exercitum Luculli signisecat*, § 37.

and National Libraries in Florence, and partly to an error of Lagomarsini, who took the number 106 from a list of contents pasted within the volume, disregarding the number 255 printed on the binding. The signature of Lagomarsini, entered by him in MSS. which he consulted, has been erased.

At the end of the volume is entered *Georgii Antonii Vespuccii Liber*, and on the fly-sheet at the beginning *Conventus S. Marci habitus a fratre Georgio Ant. Vespuccio eiusdem conventus professo* 1499. Possibly the number 106 on the list of contents previously referred to may have denoted the place of the MS. in the collection of Vespucci<sup>1</sup>.

The contents of *b* are very similar to those of  $\psi$ . It comprises thirty-one speeches, all of which except the Verrines also occur in  $\psi$ . It does not, however, contain the *pro Sex. Roscio* or *pro Murena*, and has only two out of the speeches subsequently found by Poggio, viz. those *pro Rab. perd.* and *pro Roscio Comoedo*; while  $\psi$  has the whole of them. I was gratified to find, as I expected, in the *pro Caelio* and *pro Milone* similar marginalia to those reported by Classen in the case of the *pro Cluentio*, and to observe that in all three speeches they were nearly identical with those which occur in  $\psi$ .

That *b* is prior to  $\psi$  is obvious at a glance. Thus on several occasions *b* has supplements entered in the margin or upon an inserted page, which are incorporated in the text of  $\psi$ , e. g. *pro Cluentio* §§ 102–107, the first lacuna in the *mutili*, *pro Flacco* §§ 47–53, a passage omitted by most MSS., and *pro Caelio* §§ 70 to end, omitted by many vulgar MSS.

Also, many corrections in *b* are followed by  $\psi$ , e. g.

- Mil.* § 62 (1171. 14) <sup>c</sup>perdito *b*: <sup>d</sup>percito  $\psi$ .  
 § 69 (1173. 16) <immutatus> *b*<sup>2</sup>: <immutatis<sup>u</sup>>  $\psi$ .  
*Cacl.* § 27 (1009. 4) <sup>inierit</sup>renuerit *b*: <sup>renuerit</sup>inierit  $\psi$ .  
 § 44 (1015. 11) gurgitis] <sup>i</sup>gutturis *b*<sup>2</sup> $\psi$ .  
 § 48 (1016. 18) <sup>i</sup>definiam *b*: <sup>e</sup>difiniam  $\psi$ .  
*Clu.* § 12 (545. 6) <sup>pudor</sup>dolor *b*: <sup>dolor</sup>pudor  $\psi$ .  
 § 123 (577. 9) <de illo iudicio corrupto> *b*<sup>2</sup> $\psi$ .

<sup>1</sup> 'V. lascio al Convento di S. Marco gran copia di bellissimi libri,' Seraphinus Ractius *ap. Mehus, Vita Ambrosii, Praef.*, p. lxxi.

I do not wish it to be inferred that this adoption is normal. The constant formula is  $b^2 = \psi^2$ , not  $= \psi^1$ .

The question naturally arises, is  $\psi$  copied from  $b$ ? That  $\psi^1$  is not copied from  $b$  is obvious. The basis of both is thoroughly vulgar, but their vulgarity is different. This will appear from a single instance, e.g.

*Cael.* § 51 (1017. 10) e vadis] <sup>e vado</sup> evadisset  $b$ : <sup>e vado</sup> evadens  $\psi$ .

That the marginalia ( $\psi^2$ ) have been copied from  $b$  into  $\psi$  is quite possible. In that case, however, considerable additions must have been made from various sources.

Among the readings of  $b^2\psi^2$  occur a large number of variants derived from the Cluniacensis, e.g.

*Mil.* § 3 intuentes] confluentes  $\Sigma b^2\psi^2$ . § 11 iubent] volunt  $\Sigma BHb^2\psi^2$ .  
§ 50 (noctu . . . occidisset)  $\Sigma b^2\psi^2$  et sic fere *H.* § 59 de incestu] incesti  $\Sigma Hb^2\psi^2$ .  
§ 74 harenam  $\Sigma BHb^2\psi^2$ .

*Cael.* § 18 ex rei p. causa] ex publica causa  $\Sigma b^2\psi^2$ . § 24 (Copenii . . . doluerunt)  $\Sigma b^2\psi^2$ . § 49 (sed etiam proterva meretrix)  $\Sigma b^2\psi^2$ .

*Clu.* § 10 [satisfacere]  $\Sigma b^2\psi^2$ . ib. hic . . . accipere  $\Sigma b^2\psi^2$ . ib. molestia  $\Sigma b^2\psi^2$ .  
§ 12 [non pudicitia]  $\Sigma b^2\psi^2$ .

Other variants are drawn from different sources. In some cases  $b$  has already adopted in the text readings of the Cluniacensis, and the old reading is given *sup. lin.*, e.g.

*Mil.* § 2 orationi  $\Sigma BHE$ : oratori <sup>oratori</sup> *cett.*: orationi  $b$ .

§ 11 non  $\Sigma BH$ : non modo <sup>modo</sup> *cett.*: non  $b$ .

A large number of vulgar errors found in the *dett.* are replaced by readings taken from the *meliores*, but not necessarily drawn from the Cluniacensis. Other marginalia are inferior readings drawn from a vulgar source, e.g.

*Mil.* § 40 (1165. 10) factus est] factus est <sup>esset</sup>  $b\psi$ . § 53 (1168. 24) versabatur  $\Sigma B$ , *Gellius*: versabantur  $HETb^1$ : versarentur  $b^2\psi$ . § 81 (1177. 9) cuiquam] cuique  $b^2\psi$ .

Also,  $b$  contains a number of conjectures, as will be seen from the first two readings quoted from the *pro Milone* in this discussion, viz. § 62 percito  $b^2$ . § 69 (immutatus)  $b^2$ .

The collation of the Cluniacensis used by the corrector of  $b$  is

copious in the case of the *pro Cluentio*, though by no means so minute as that which is furnished by  $\Sigma$ . In that of the *pro Milone* it is comparatively superficial, and in that of the *pro Caelio* it is scanty. There is a marked agreement between  $b^2\psi^2$  both in what they omit and also in what they record. Among small points which occur in both MSS. I note, e. g.

*Cacl.* § 13 (1004. 15) esset <et> audacia  $b^2\psi^2$ . § 50 (1016. 29) Clodia] Clodie<sup>a</sup>  $b^2\psi^2$ . § 52 (1017. 19) quam ob rem<sup>ad</sup>  $b^2\psi^2$ .

We find in  $\psi$  evidence of fresh use of the Cluniacensis. In the first place it contains the mediaeval argument to the *Miloniana* given by  $\Sigma H$  (also  $E$ ), which does not occur in  $b$ . Also, we can trace a considerable influx of fresh readings drawn from this source, e. g.

*Mil.* § 6 (1154. 8) quia  $\Sigma H\psi^2$ : si *cell.* § 7 (l. 15) <mihi>  $\Sigma BH\psi^2$ . § 14 (1156. 26) <Appia>  $\Sigma H\psi^2$ . § 49 (1167. 29) noctu  $\Sigma H\psi^2$ : nocte *cell.* § 66 (1172. 16) <pro>  $\Sigma H\psi^2$ . § 68 (1173. 10) ante testaretur  $\Sigma H\psi^2$ : attestaretur *cell.* § 79 (1176. 28) si esset in] si est et in  $\Sigma H\psi^2$ . § 99 (1182. 9) saltem  $\Sigma H\psi^2$ : tamen *cell.*

*Cacl.* § 56 (1019. 15) evolvere  $\Sigma I\psi^2$ : volvere *cell.* § 60 (1021. 2) illam  $\Sigma\psi^2$ : aliam *cell.* § 77 (1026. 8) <pertinacia>  $\Sigma\psi^2$ . § 78 (1026. 18) patitur  $\Sigma\psi^2$ : datur *cell.*

*Clu.* § 23 (548. 1) perpropinquus  $\Sigma P\psi^2$ : propinquus *cell.* ib. (l. 2) <multis>  $\Sigma P\psi^2$ . § 24 (l. 5) <et> interfectum  $\Sigma\psi^2$ . ib. (l. 8) A. Aurius <is>  $\Sigma\psi^2$ .

Other contributions of  $\psi^2$  are gathered from various sources. In some cases where the reading of Clun. has been received into the text the old reading is given *sup. lin.*, e. g.

*Cacl.* § 71 referretur  $\Sigma\psi^1$ : reficeretur  $\psi^2$  *cell.*

In others the variant is taken from the *deteriores*, e. g.

*Cacl.* § 69 <et pervulgata>  $\psi^2$  *dett.*

Or from some unknown but worthless source, e. g.

*Mil.* § 2 (1153. 2) eundem] eum  $\psi^2$ . § 6 (1154. 6) deprecaturi] precaturi  $\psi^2$ . § 15 (1157. 10) oporteret] oportet  $\psi^2$ .

It is interesting to notice that  $\psi^2$  frequently gives the reading of  $b$ , e. g. *Cacl.* § 46

quare in hoc genere labor conficiendi homines a studio deterret  $\psi^1$

quae res in hoc genere homines a labore studioque discendi deterret  $b\psi^2$ .

This would support the theory that the writer of  $\psi$  made use of  $b$ . Others are due to conjecture, e. g.

*Cacl.* § 64 (1022. 8) velut] verum  $\psi^2$ . § 72 (1025. 2) iis autem fuit] <sup>usus</sup> is aut fuit  $\psi$ . § 73 (1025. 5) paulum] paululum  $\psi^2$ .

*Clu.* § 71 (562. 21) <HS>  $\psi^2$ . § 147 (585. 11) ambitus  $\psi^2$ : ambitu  $\Sigma$ : de ambitu *cell.*

Besides the evidence which these MSS. furnish concerning the readings of the lost Cluniacensis, they also enable us to understand the process by which the Italian vulgate of these speeches was constructed. The best known representative of this is  $S$  (Monac. 15,734) to which I have so frequently referred. I have not thought it necessary to encumber this discussion by recording the readings of  $S$  in the case of the *pro Milone* and *pro Caclio*. In these, as in the *Rosciana* and *Mureniana*,  $S$  nearly always adopts in the text the reading of  $\psi^2$ , or  $b^2\psi^2$ . It would be idle to quote instances since it is only necessary for the reader to glance at the *Apparatus Criticus* in Baiter and Halm's edition.

With regard, however, to the *Cluentiana* very important consequences follow from the results thus arrived at. In this speech  $S$  and its congener  $T$  have been considered to form the *melior familia*, being derived from some unknown and unpolluted source. All their readings have been quoted with equal respect, and the same authority has been attached to all. I contend that they are in basis vulgar, but have been corrected by an influx of variants from the Cluniacensis, together with a farrago of readings gathered from many sources.

I have taken the trouble to analyse the recension of this speech found in  $S$ , or  $ST$ , with the following results. I have taken into account special errors in  $S$ , but have not always regarded those peculiar to  $T$ , since this MS. is admittedly inferior and has a very large number of *proprii errores* in the shape of omissions. I find

(a) Readings from the Cluniacensis attested by  $\Sigma b^2\psi^2$ . There are about 107 important cases including most well-known variants of the *melior familia*.

(b) Readings attested by  $\Sigma$  only. These are about 250 in number, most of them being minor points—e. g. collocations of words—passed over by the first Italian collators. It is, therefore, obvious that after the collation represented by  $\psi^2$  a fresh and minute examination of the Cluniacensis took place.



(c) Readings supported by  $b^2\psi^2$  (*sil.*  $\Sigma$ ). These are about thirty in number. Some striking cases have already been mentioned on p. xxxvi, to which I here add, e. g.

§ 6 (542. 24) si  $b^2\psi^2ST$ : ac si *cell.* § 27 (549. 3) Teani Apuli] Teano  $b^2\psi^2ST$ , so also *B.* § 29 (549. 25) auditis <non> sine  $b^2\psi^2S$ . § 83 (566. 17) iudicii <si>  $b^2\psi^2ST$ . § 86 (567. 12) Cluentius <poterat>  $b^2\psi^2ST$ . § 123 (577. 9) censores <de illo iudicio corrupto>  $b^2\psi^2S$ . § 148 (585. 18) Voconium <coniunctum> cum iis iudicibus  $b^2S$ : Voc. cum iis iud. <coniunctum>  $\psi^2$ .

This part of the inquiry is somewhat difficult on account of the ravages committed in the margin of  $\Sigma$  in this speech by a person who erased completely or partially a large number of the marginalia. In the cases, however, above mentioned, I could not see any mark of erasures. There are others in which an erasure is noticeable in the margin, which may have obliterated the reading given by  $b^2\psi^2$ , e. g.

§ 88 (567. 33) <partim> autem  $b^2\psi^2ST$ . § 89 (568. 9) libeant] iubeant  $b^2\psi^2ST$ . § 119 (576. 9) exempli causa  $\psi^2ST$ : exemplis *cell.*

(d) Readings of  $ST$  or  $S$ , not supported by  $\Sigma$ , or  $b^2\psi^2$ . These are about 125 in number, not including certain cases where there is an erasure in the margin of  $\Sigma$ , which may conceal the reading of  $ST$ , viz.

§ 18 (546. 14) reticeri. § 53 (557. 4) se cum Cleophanto. § 58 (558. 12-14) ut . . . videretur. § 91 (568. 18) iura essent. § 125 (577. 25) manu sua. § 160 (589. 22) fingenda esse sibi. § 171 (592. 15) reliquisset.

The original contributions of  $S(T)$  may be classified thus:

(1) *Proprii errores*, to which no editor attaches any importance. These are forty-six in number.

(2) Variety in the collocation of words. Of this there are fifteen cases, the chief being

§ 27 (549. 7) hora undecima cum valens in publico  $ST$ , *edd.*: cum hora undecima in publico valens *cell.* § 156 (588. 14) causam dicit eques Rom.  $ST$ , *edd.*: eques Rom. causam dicit *cell.*

(3) Omissions. I noticed thirty-six cases, the most important being

§ 25 (548. 11) numquam se iudicii, numquam legibus *om.*  $ST$ , *del.* Baier.

§ 27 (549. 5) publicis *om.*  $ST$ , *del.* Baier.

§ 38 (552. 25) sed ex] *om.* sed  $ST$ , Baier.

- § 44 (554. 17) atque audacissimi *om. S<sup>1</sup>, del.* Baiter.  
 § 58 (558. 6) agitur causa *om. S (alio loco hab. T), del.* Baiter.  
 § 65 (560. 26) negate, negate] negate *ST*, Baiter.  
 § 72 (562. 29) suae *om. ST*, Baiter.  
 § 79 (565. 8) clamore hominum] *om. hominum ST*, Baiter.  
 § 84 (566. 33) istam dedit conciliationis et gratiae fabulam *om. ST, del.*  
 Baiter (cf. p. xxxvi).  
 § 87 (567. 24) nummum *om. ST, del.* Baiter.  
 § 113 (574. 18) omnibus *om. S, del.* Baiter.  
 § 120 (576. 27) causam *om. ST: vim coni.* Halm.  
 § 122 (577. 4) populo Romano] *om. Romano ST*, Baiter.  
 § 123 (577. 15) gladium *om. S, del.* Baiter (cf. p. xxxvii).  
 § 133 (580. 26) tota *om. ST, del.* Baiter.  
 § 147 (585. 9) M. Plaetorii et C. Flamini] *om. et ST, dubitat* Baiter.

There are two curious cases in the first supplement (§§ 102-107), in which the reading of  $\Sigma$  seems to explain an omission of *ST*.

- § 106 ii tales  $\Sigma$ : ii (hi *b*) tales *b<sub>χ</sub>ψ*: tales *ST*. Ib. bis antea  $\Sigma$ : bis iam antea *b<sub>χ</sub>ψ*: bis antea *ST*.

(4) Simple corrections. Of these I find eleven, viz.

- § 12 (544. 26) eae *ST*: hae *Mbψ*. § 17 (546. 6) hominum *ST*: omnium *b<sup>2</sup>ψ<sup>2</sup>*: amici *b<sup>1</sup>*: animum *Mψ<sup>1</sup>*. § 25 (548. 20) tenebantur *ST*: terrebantur *Mbψ*. § 29 (549. 21) iis *ST*: his *Mbψ*. § 72 (562. 25) degustarant *ST*: degustarat  $\Sigma$ , *cell.* ib. (l. 28) Paete (pete) *ST*: Pacete *Mb<sup>1</sup>ψ<sup>1</sup>*: facete *b<sup>2</sup>ψ<sup>2</sup>*. § 83 (566. 20) patiamini *ST*: patimini *Mbψ*. § 97 (570. 13) Ti. *ST*: T. *Mbψ*. § 107 (572. 31) fecerunt *ST*: fecerint  $\Sigma$ , *cell.* § 117 (575. 30) plerique *ST*: et plerique *Mbψ*. § 163 (590. 11) servis *ST*: servi  $\Sigma$ : servo *Mbψ*.

It will be noticed that except in three cases  $\Sigma$  *silet*.

(5) Plausible variants. These are nine in number, viz.

- § 24 (548. 5) agrum Gallicum] Galliam *ST*. § 31 (550. 20) nihil <ei> sanctum *S<sup>1</sup>*, Baiter. § 39 (552. 31) alligatum *ST*, Baiter: *variant cell.* § 72 (562. 27) hilaro *ST*, Baiter: hilari *Mbψ*. ib. placidissime *ST*, Baiter: blandissime *Mbψ*. § 129 (579. 11) ut ad quam . . . constituas *ST, variant cell.* § 171 (592. 13) ineptis fabulis *ST*, Baiter: ineptiis et (atque *bψ*) fabulis *Mbψ*. § 183 (595. 26) ullo <iis> modo *ST*, Baiter (cf. p. xxxvii). § 187 (596. 33) servi *ST*, Baiter: serva  $\Sigma$ : servili *M*: servuli *bψ*.

The influx of corrections and conjectures into *ST* can best be

observed in the Supplements, and especially in that at the end of the speech (§§ 193-202), since in this we can control the process by the evidence of the early copies *A* and  $\pi$ , written in the years 1415 and 1416. I draw attention to the following cases

§ 128 (578. 33) ne . . . delinqueret  $\Sigma b^1 \chi \psi^1$ : qui . . . deliquerat  $b^2 \psi^2 ST$ . § 152 (586. 34) eques R.  $\Sigma b^1 \chi \psi^1$ : equester ordo  $b^2 \psi^2 ST$ . § 153 (587. 9) restituerunt (- $\psi$ -  $\Sigma$ )  $\Sigma b^1 \chi \psi^1$ : restituerunt  $b^2 \psi^2 ST$ . § 154 (579. 31) consumma  $\Sigma \psi^1 T$ : cum summa  $b^1 \chi$ : summum  $b^2 \psi^2 S$ . ib. premixtum  $\Sigma b^1 \chi \psi T$ : praemium  $b^2 \psi^2 S$ . § 176 (593. 31) vehementissimis  $\Sigma b \chi \psi$ : vehementissime *ST*. § 178 (594. 14) Stratonem  $\Sigma \psi^2 T$ : a Stratone  $b^1 \chi \psi^1$ : per Stratonem  $b^2 S$ . § 180 (594. 29) quaerebant  $\psi^2 ST$ : om.  $\Sigma b \chi \psi^1$ . § 193 (598. 16) aut turpi  $\Sigma A \pi \phi$ : aut urbi  $b \chi \psi ST$ . § 197 (599. 11) laudationum decreta  $\Sigma A \pi \phi b^1$ : laudationem decretam  $b^2 \psi ST$ . § 200 (600. 9) bonitatem  $\Sigma A \pi \phi \chi b^1 \psi^1$ : veritatem  $b^2 \psi^2 ST$ . § 202 (600. 27) animum  $\Sigma A \pi \phi$ : animum non  $b \chi \psi$ : non animum *ST*.

It follows from this analysis that the recension of *S* in this speech is similar to that which it offers in the *Miloniana*. In both speeches its basis is vulgar, but it has been corrected by variants drawn from the Cluniacensis and from various other sources. If so, the criticism of this speech must proceed on somewhat different lines. Apart from the fragments of the palimpsest (*P*) there appear to be only two sources of information, viz. *M* and the readings of the Cluniacensis recorded by the French and Italian collators ( $\Sigma b^2 \psi^2$ ). The readings of *ST* are superfluous when they agree with these, and where they disagree or are unsupported are to be regarded with suspicion.

After this digression I proceed to briefly describe other MSS. to which I have called attention, viz.

$\sigma$  (Pistoensis, Bibl. Forteguerr. A. 32).

Pist. A.  
32.

This MS. contains the speeches *pro Milone* and *pro Sex. Roscio*, in addition to those *pridie quam in exsilium iret, cum populo gratias egit, cum senatui gratias egit* and the *Breviarium Sexti Rufi*. Its interest lies in the fact that it was written by Sozomenus, the friend of Poggio, who, when at the Council of Constance, made a transcript of Asconius superior to those executed by Poggio and Bartolommeo da Montepulciano.

The authenticity of  $\sigma$  is beyond question. It is written in the same hand as the Asconius of Sozomenus (Pist. Fort., A. 37) and is signed by Sozomenus. Its contents, however, are disappointing. In

the *pro Milone* it is thoroughly vulgar, and shows no trace of readings taken from the Cluniacensis. In the *Rosciana* I cannot regard it as an independent transcript. It is true that in this speech there are a few lacunae which indicate that Sozomenus was puzzled by a word, which he found it difficult to read, viz.

§ 59 (45. 26) negligentiam] negligin . . .  $\sigma$ . § 66 (47. 23) elui *om.*  $\sigma$  in lac. (leui  $\Sigma A\pi\phi$ : leni  $\chi\psi$ ). § 74 (49. 29) cur *om.*  $\sigma$  in lac. (quur  $\Sigma\pi\psi^1$ : quire  $\chi$ ). § 128 (65. 3) et ficto] e . . . . .  $\sigma$ .

The internal evidence, however, forbids us to consider it a direct or even an early copy. It is very rarely that it agrees with  $\Sigma$  against the other Italian copies. The chief case is

§ 133 (66. 16) quid praeco enumeraret] quid <sup>a</sup>preconum numerare  $\Sigma$ : quid praeco enumerare  $\sigma$ : quid praeco enuntiare  $\chi$ : quid praetium numerare (enum.  $\psi^2$  nuntiare  $\pi$ ) *cell.*

As a rule it agrees with the inferior MSS. where they break away from  $\Sigma A\pi$ , e. g.

§ 31 (38. 20) minae terrores  $\Sigma A\pi$ : in me terrores  $\sigma\chi\psi$ . § 52 (43. 26) perraro  $A\pi\psi^1$ : errario  $\psi$ : raro  $\sigma\chi\psi^2$ . § 64 (47. 7) tam esse] sa est  $\Sigma$ : sane  $A\pi$ : satis est  $\sigma\chi\psi$ . § 125 (64. 2) ac (ac ||  $\Sigma$ ) libere  $\Sigma A\pi$ : aut libere  $\sigma\chi\psi$ .

We find in  $\sigma$  some good corrections, e. g.

§ 39 (40. 27) cum officio coniuncta  $\sigma\chi^2\psi$ : *om.* coniuncta  $\Sigma A\pi\chi^1$ . § 83 (52. 17) ibi  $\sigma^2$  (*coni.* Steinmetz): ubi *cell.* § 134 (67. 1) quam officina  $\sigma\chi\psi$  (and *B*): *om.* quam  $\Sigma A\pi$ .

Also, some bad conjectures, e. g.

§ 8 (32. 4) spoliis ex] spoliis sex  $\Sigma\pi$ : spoliis Sex. *A* $\phi\psi$ : spoliis Sex. Roscii  $\sigma\chi$ . § 23 (36. 12) iudices exturbat  $\pi\psi^1$ : iudices sex (Sex. *A*)  $\Sigma A\chi$ : Sex. Ro. iud. turbat  $\sigma$ .

It is hard to suppose that Sozomenus, who produced so faithful a transcript of Asconius, would have allowed himself this license, if he had had the Cluniacensis before him. I do not, therefore, attach much importance to  $\sigma$ , but as being the work of Sozomenus it claims some attention, and it will at least serve the purpose of a *parens deteriorum*.

Laur.  
XLVIII. 26.

$\omega$  (Laur. XLVIII. 26, Lag. 26).

This is a somewhat puzzling MS. It was thought by Niebuhr to be the best of the Lagg. for the *pro Sex. Roscio*, and both Müller

and Nohl rank it among the better Lagg. for the *pro Murena*. It contains in addition to these two speeches the so-called Lingonenses: i. e. it is a *sylloge* of the new orations discovered by Poggio. It is written in several hands, possibly in six or seven. The first writer transcribed the *pro Caecina* (ff. 1-13 *r*, f. 13 *v* being left blank). The speeches *de lege agraria* are written in a smaller hand, which continues down to ii. 71 *siccitate aut in* (f. 23 *v*). A third and rougher hand begins (f. 21 *r*) with § 68 *atque hoc carmen*, repeating a passage already written by the second scribe. The repetition was corrected by the sign *vacat*. This writer continues to *in Pisonem* § 40, this speech coming after those *de lege agraria*, and is succeeded by a fourth copyist who also repeats at the beginning of f. 34 *r* a passage already written by his predecessor. The fourth scribe ends in the middle of f. 58 *v* with *Rosc. Com.* § 19 *fraudavit Roscius. Est hoc primum*, leaving the rest of the page blank. *Vacat* has been written across the blank space; and a note added *nihil deficit hic, igitur non debet esse istud spatium*<sup>1</sup>. A fifth writer begins on f. 59 *r* with *est hoc primum*, and completes this speech, and on ff. 70 *r* to 86 *r* another writer, possibly the same as no. 3, gives the *pro Murena*: ff. 86 *v* to 90 *r* are left blank: then the *pro Roscio* follows in a hand resembling that of the fifth writer. The MS. is mutilated, and ends *Rosc.* § 141 *hoc indigne fe-*.

Niebuhr supplied Halm with the readings of the Lagg. for §§ 1-25 only of the *pro Roscio*. In these  $\omega$  has one agreement with *V*, the palimpsest, viz. § 2 (30. 9) *sim V $\omega$ : sum cett.*; a necessary correction, viz. § 11 (32. 20) *eidem  $\omega$ : idem cett.*; a plausible omission, viz. § 11 (32. 20) *om. iudex  $\omega$*  (so Halm); and two cases of variety in the collocation of words, viz. § 6 (31. 11) *metumque omnem] omnemque metum  $\omega$*  (so Halm); § 15 (33. 28) *suis omnibus] omnibus suis* (so Halm).

Other readings are quoted by Halm in his *Addenda* (pp. 1432-3) from a collation made for him by O. Ribbeck<sup>2</sup>, viz.

§ 68 (48. 8) *prorupta] praeurpta  $\omega$* . § 77 (50. 25) *administer] minister  $\omega$* . § 80 (51. 27) *et sanguine] et in sanguine  $\omega$* .

<sup>1</sup> Mr. F. Madan, to whom I submitted these facts, is of opinion that this portion of the MS. must have been written hurriedly by relays of scribes. It thus happened that the new writer was uncertain where to begin.

<sup>2</sup> In two cases O. Ribbeck wrongly reports the readings of  $\omega$ , viz. § 118 (61. 31) where, according to my collation, it has *constant*, not *constat*, and § 129 (65. 6) *pertineat*, not *pertinent*.

To these I would add from my own collation of this MS.

§ 48 (42. 23) quod ad  $\omega$ , ed. Crat.: quod  $\Sigma\phi$ : quo ad *cell.* § 74 (49. 28) ii  $\omega$ , *coni.* Halm: hi *cell.* § 78 (51. 2) in insidiis  $\omega$  and  $\chi$ , *coni.* Halm: insidiis *cell.* § 86 (53. 11) causa  $\omega$ : *om. cell.*

These plausible variants are, however, shown by the consensus of  $\Sigma A\pi$  to be due either to conjecture or to accident. Some of them, e. g. those in §§ 6, 15, 77, appear due to the latter cause, and it is singular that importance should have been attached to isolated readings without a full collation of the MS.

I find in  $\omega$  few special agreements with  $\Sigma A$ . Thus it agrees with them in one only out of the eight cases previously quoted from this speech (p. xli), viz. § 89 [patronorum] paternorum  $\Sigma A\phi\omega$ . It is also very carelessly written, and abounds in omissions. I note a few readings which sufficiently reveal its character.

§ 2 (30. 10-12) ceteros . . . in quibus *om. \omega*. ib. (ll. 13-15) necesse est . . . dixero *om. \omega*. § 3 (30. 15) exire] exigere  $\omega$ . § 6 (31. 5) sexagies] sexagesies  $\omega$ . ib. (l. 10) officere] efficere  $\omega$ . § 11 (32. 25) dimissui  $\Sigma$ : dimissius  $A\sigma\pi\phi\chi\psi$ : dimissus  $\omega$ . §§ 30-48 (38. 14-42. 21) misero ferunt . . . permultos et *om. \omega*. § 101 (57. 14) o vitam  $\Sigma\sigma\chi$ : o iustam  $A\pi\phi\psi\omega$ . § 133 (66. 10) una in domo  $\sigma\chi\psi$ : una in nemo  $\Sigma\pi$ : una vi nemo  $AB\phi$ : una in venio  $\omega$ .

In the following case  $\omega$  has an interpolation characteristic of the worst *dett.*, viz.

§ 57 (45. 12) Kal. omnis] calomnis  $\Sigma A\sigma\pi\phi\chi$ : calomniis  $\psi$ : calumpniis  $\omega$ .

In the *pro Murena* the tradition of  $\omega$  is purer than in the *pro Roscio*, being practically identical with that of  $\pi\phi$ . Its affinities are closest with  $\phi$ , with which it agrees in eight out of the ten cases previously quoted (pp. xliv, xlv) of difference between  $\pi$  and  $\phi$ , the exceptions being in §§ 58, 90 where it agrees with  $\pi$ . Its *fides* is inferior to that of  $\phi$ , since sometimes it omits corrupt words without leaving a lacuna, e. g.

§ 32 pugnax et acer et *om. \omega sine lac.* § 43 et praetore et *om. \omega sine lac.*

My general conclusion, therefore, is that  $\omega$  is not reliable in the *pro Roscio* and superfluous in the *pro Murena*. It will be understood that I cast no slur upon it in the case of the other speeches which it contains. On the contrary, I consider it to be an early and very authentic copy of these.

I have also examined a large number of MSS. at Florence, Rome, Milan, Venice, Ravenna, Paris, London, and Oxford, but the results were generally disappointing. One of the more interesting is a Milan MS. (C. 96 *Part. sup.*) which like  $\omega$  contains a *sylloge* of the new speeches discovered by Poggio. It once belonged to T. Corbinelli and afterwards to T. V. Pinelli, and was bought at Naples by Cardinal Borromeo in 1609. This seems to be a fairly early copy. Thus *Rosc.* § 30 it has *decus* in the text with  $\Sigma A$  (*dedecus* in the margin with the other MSS.) and *Mur.* § 26 *aioş* (*aioş*  $\Sigma A$ : *aio cett.*). On the whole, however, it did not seem to cast any fresh light upon the text. I was also attracted by an Oxford MS. (Canon. Lat. 304) which contains the *pro Murena* and *pro Sex. Roscio* among a number of miscellaneous tracts. This has some interesting readings, e. g.

*Mur.* § 7 *captio vel accusatio* (*cattio*  $\Sigma$ : *captio A*: *accusatio cett.*). § 13 *comspicere* (*cumspicere*  $\Sigma\chi^1$ : *conspicere*  $A\pi\psi$ : *circumspicere*  $\chi^2$ ). § 30 *ad honorem depositis* (*ita*  $\chi$ , *variant cett.*). § 51 *Cathillina ue erupit* (*cue erupit*  $\Sigma\chi$ , *variant cett.*). § 56 *nobilis* (*nobis ed. Ven.*: *nobilis codd. cett.*).

I could not, however, find that it possessed any independent value. A Vatican MS., which once belonged to the well-known scholar, Siccio Polentone (Pal. Lat. 1478), has on f. 161 after the *Ciceronis responsio in Salustium* the interesting colophon

Siccio Polentanus Patavius hoc opus scribi fecit Paduae anno 1413 ad usum eius et posterorum.

After this, at the end of the MS., comes the *pro Murena* in a different hand, and without a date. I hoped that this might be an early copy made for Polentone, but on examining it found that it was thoroughly vulgar.

I have intentionally reserved until now the question as to the connexion of any of the Italian copies with Poggio himself. We know from the passage previously quoted (p. iv) that the Cluniacensis was utilized for a copy of Cicero's speeches made for him in 1427-1428 by his French scribe in Rome. It is possible that this copy may one day be identified, though I have not succeeded in finding it. We may be sure that it would show traces of a fresh examination of the Cluniacensis, such as appears in  $b$ ,  $\chi$  and  $\psi$ , and also that it would contain a number of conjectures.

It is, therefore, interesting to observe that some of the marginalia found in  $\psi$  can be traced back to Poggio himself. This may be shown by *in Pisonem*, § 61

ratio quidem hercle apparet: argentum  $\overset{o}{\chi}$ etai.

Here Halm notes 'argentum oechete *VS*: argutum et doctum te thecae *EGP*: argentum et doctum *cum lac. F.*'

*V* here is the celebrated eighth-century MS., belonging to the Chapter of St. Peter's in Rome (H. 25), which contains the speeches *in Pisonem*, *pro Flacco*, *pro Fonteio*, and the Philippics. It is at first sight surprising to find that the fifteenth-century *S* agrees with *V*, while the rest of the MSS. have a monstrous corruption. The solution is as usual provided by  $\psi$  in which we find

<sup>oechete</sup>  
et doctum te thece.

It is now obvious that *oechete* has been drawn from *V*, and incorporated by *S*. If we ask who the collator of *V* was, the answer is provided by Poggio's correspondence which shows that he used it in 1428. He says

Philippicas Ciceronis emendavi cum hoc antiquo codice, qui ita pueriliter scriptus est, ita mendose, ut in iis quae scripsi non coniectura opus fuerit sed divinatione. Nulla est femella tam rudis tam insulsa quae non emendatius scripsisset, sed scis in talibus me esse satis sagacem. Non potui autem corrigere omnes, quia et duae ultimae deficiunt et in reliquis desunt non nulla . . . Vale, die V Iunii, 1428<sup>1</sup>.

It may be remarked that the copy of the Philippics made by Poggio on this occasion is now at Florence (Laur. XLVIII. 22). It contains the Philippics and Catilinarians with the colophon *Scrīpsit Poggius Romae*<sup>2</sup>. In this the variants and supplements taken from *V* are entered in the margin. The same MS. contains a twelfth-century MS. formerly belonging to S. Marco (S. Marci 268), and once the property of Niccolo Niccoli, into which Niccolo Niccoli has entered the same variants and supplements. These have been incorporated

<sup>1</sup> Tonelli i. 216.

<sup>2</sup> F. Novati, in his valuable work *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, iii, p. 656, identifies Laur. XLVIII. 22 with a MS. of Cicero written by Poggio for Coluccio in 1403. I cannot agree with this date in view of the passage quoted above.



into the text in late Italian MSS., such as the cod. Alani (i) used by Halm<sup>1</sup>.

It now also becomes obvious from what source *b* has received the supplement to the *pro Flacco*, for which Baiter quotes *VS* only. In *b* it is entered in the margin, in  $\psi$  and *S* it appears in the text. We are, therefore, able to trace the influence of Poggio in *b* and  $\psi$ , although the intermediate copy containing his corrections has still to be identified.

We are now in a position to sum up the results arrived at in the course of this inquiry.

The Abbey of Cluni as early as the eleventh century possessed an ancient MS. containing the speeches *pro Milone*, *pro Cluentio*, *pro Murena*, *pro Sex. Roscio*, and *pro Caelio*, apparently in this order. This MS. was unaffected by the orthographical reforms which took place under the reign of Charlemagne, and therefore in all probability anterior to them. If so it cannot have been later than the end of the eighth century, and may have been considerably earlier. At the beginning of the fifteenth century it was very illegible. At this period it was used by the French scribes who produced the *cod. S. Victoris* ( $\Sigma$ ). The speeches *pro Milone*, *pro Caelio*, and *pro Cluentio* were not transcribed in full from it on account of its illegibility, but a copious collation in the shape of supra-lineal variants, marginalia, and supplements was extracted and added to copies taken from a vulgar source. The *Rosciana* and *Mureniana* were necessarily copied throughout, since they were known from no other source. The transcript made is remarkable on account of its extraordinary fidelity. Where the original was illegible or corrupt the first writer left a blank which was filled up by a second hand who inserted a facsimile of what he found before him. From the *cod. S. Victoris* are derived Par. 6369 (Par. 1), an admirable copy with an excellent selection of variants from the marginalia, Par. 7777 (Par. 4) an inferior MS. with a smaller selection, and Wolfenbuttel. 205 (W), a carelessly written MS. in which many of the marginalia have been received into the text. These four MSS. constitute the *Gallica familia*,  $\Sigma$ , the progenitor of the other three, being prior to the discovery made by Poggio.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Classical Review*, xiv, p. 40. The suggestion which I there made was subsequently confirmed by my examination of Laur. XLVIII. 22 and S. Marci 268.

The Cluniacensis was found by Poggio in the course of his mission either in 1414, or possibly in 1413, and he contrived to get possession of it. As he did not succeed in obtaining other ancient MSS. of Cicero, which were probably still at Cluni, viz. Clun. 498, the MS. containing the speeches *in Catilinam*, *pro Ligario*, *pro rege Deiotaro*, *in Verr.* ii and iii, recently discovered by Dr. Peterson at Holkham Hall, and Clun. 492, containing the Letters to Atticus, which was in all probability the lost Tornaesianus<sup>1</sup> (*Z*), it may be conjectured that the damaged condition of the MS., and the fact that it had recently been copied, made its owners willing to part with it. The first person to participate in the discovery of Poggio was naturally his colleague in his mission, Bartolommeo da Montepulciano, who made a collection of excerpts from the MS. These were copied from his note-book by the scribe who also reproduced his transcript of Asconius, and survive in Laur. LIV. 5.

Poggio then sent the MS. to his friends in Florence. The Italians found it difficult to decipher, and did not at once avail themselves of all its contents. Ioannes Arretinus, the writer of a large MS. finished on Feb. 9, 1415 (Laur. XLVIII. 10=*A*), and the anonymous writer of another MS. written in 1416 (Perus. E. 71= $\pi$ ), contented themselves with copying the two new speeches and the end of the *pro Cluentio*. They did not use it for the *pro Milone*, the *pro Caelio*, or for the other lacunae in the *pro Cluentio*. It was afterwards examined by other scholars and notably by Poggio himself in 1427. They drew from it the argument to the *pro Milone*, supplements to the *pro Cluentio* in the other four lacunae, variants and supplements to both speeches, and also to the *pro Caelio*. We can trace a gradual influx of readings taken from the Cluniacensis into MSS. written at this period, the intermediate stage being marked by such MSS. as  $\chi$  (Laur. XLVIII. 25), *b* (S. Marci, 255), and  $\psi$  (Gadd. XC. *sup.* 69), the last named containing the most complete collection of variants taken from this as well as from other sources. The final stage is marked by such MSS. as *S*, which like *W* has incorporated the *Apparatus Criticus* with the text.

The results of these conclusions are of great importance. In the *pro Sex. Roscio* the two MSS. chiefly relied upon have been *W* and *S*. It now appears that *W* is a copy of a copy made from  $\Sigma$ , and that *S* is highly composite and tainted by conjecture. In the *pro*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Classical Review*, xvi. 327.

*Milone* the Cluniacensis emerges from the darkness to strengthen the authority of *H* (Harl. 2682), and to prove the antiquity of the recension found in that MS. In the *pro Cluentio ST* are dethroned from the primacy assigned to them, which must now be assigned to the French and Italian marginalia. In the *pro Caelio* the new evidence is such as to necessitate a fresh revision of the text.

I do not propose on this occasion to discuss the new readings to be gleaned from the sources which I have indicated. Such a course would considerably increase the size of this volume, and would delay its publication. Also, I am now engaged in editing the various speeches here discussed for the Oxford Classical Texts Series, and hope shortly to publish a text. I therefore reserve all such points, and content myself with giving a few examples to illustrate the inadequacy of Halm's *Apparatus Criticus* to the *pro Sex. Roscio* and *pro Murena*, due to the inferiority of the MSS. employed by him. In the following quotations I preserve his nomenclature, i. e. *G = W*, *M = S* (in the *pro Roscio M* 1 = the first and *M* 2 the second copy of this speech), *CEHOX* are worthless Oxford MSS., *a = ed. Ascens.*, *C = ed. Crat.*, *V = ed. Ven.*

*Rosc.* § 48 (42. 20) ac non modo] 'ac non *Mv*, ut *coni. Heusinger*: et non *GOc*, *codd. rell. noti.*

Ac non  $\Sigma A \pi \sigma \chi$ : at  $\phi \psi$ .

§ 56 (45. 1) cum deos salutatum aliqui venerint] 'deos *vc*: deo *G*: eo *Ma.*'

deos  $\sigma \chi \psi^1$ : deo  $\Sigma A \pi \phi \omega$ : eo  $\psi^2$ .

§ 61 (46. 8) quae quoniam te fefellerunt] Halm has no note. fefellerunt  $\sigma$ : fefellerint *cell. mei.*

§ 65 (47. 14) somnum statim capere potuisset] 'potuisse *G*: posset *Ernesti coni.*'

potuisse ||  $\Sigma$ : potuisse *cell. mei.*

§ 72 (49. 7) ducere animam] Halm has no note. animam  $\Sigma \chi \psi$ : animum *A \sigma \pi \phi \omega*.

§ 107 (58. 28) iudicii partem acceperit] Halm has no note. iudiciuae  $\Sigma$ : iudiciue *A*: iudicine  $\phi$ , iudici ut  $\omega$ , iudicii  $\pi \sigma \chi \psi$ .

§ 108 (59. 6) a Chrysogono] 'a *om. M* 1 *v.*'  
*om. a omnes mei.*

§ 111 (59. 33) in his] Halm has no note here, but in the *Addenda* says 'in iis *recte Lag.* 26,' so  $\Sigma \pi \sigma \chi$ .

- Rosc.* § 116 (61. 11) intimi] 'intumi *G.*'  
intumi  $\Sigma\pi\sigma\phi\chi\psi\omega$ : intemi *A.* None have *intimi.*
- § 129 (65. 5) partim pro Sex. Roscio] Halm has no note.  
*om.* pro *omnes mei.*
- § 134 (67. 1) ac deversorium] 'ac *M.*: et *GOvae.*'  
ac  $\Sigma A\pi\sigma\psi^2$ : et  $\phi\chi\psi^1\omega$ .
- § 153 (71. 33) comparatum est] Halm has no note.  
*om.* est *omnes mei (etiam B).*
- Mur.* § 22 (724. 15) tu in regendis] 'tuque *EC\chi v.*'  
tu quin  $\Sigma$ : tuque in *cell. mei.* None give *tu in.*
- § 45 (734. 19) alium faciam] Halm has no note.  
faciam  $\pi$ : faci iam *cell. mei.*
- § 54 (737. 26) ab iis] 'ab his *mei.*'  
iis (is  $\Sigma$ )  $\Sigma A\pi\chi\psi$ : hiis  $\omega$ : his  $\phi$ .
- § 58 (739. 14) nimiis adversarii viribus] 'nimis *EH*, unius *M.*'  
unius  $\psi^2$ , nimis *cell. mei.* None have *nimiis.*
- § 59 (739. 15) memoriae] Halm has no note.  
iniuriae  $\Sigma A\pi\phi\omega$ : memoriae  $\chi\psi$ .

On the other hand, while much is omitted which is germane to the development of the text, a great deal of rubbish is included, e.g.

- Rosc.* § 128 (65. 1) reduviam] 'reduviam *M* 1, *Schol., Par.* 4, *c*: redii viam *Gm* 2,  
rediviam *La, codd. Hotomani*, rem divinam *Tv.*'  
redii viam  $\Sigma$ : reduviam *cell. mei.*

## APPENDIX

I HAVE reserved for an Appendix some further details concerning the relation of *W* to  $\Sigma$ . The text appears to have degenerated to a singular extent in the course of transmission. This can hardly be due to any difficulty in the hand of  $\Sigma$  which was found perfectly legible by the writer of Par. 6369 (Par. 1). That the writer of *W*, or of the intermediate copy which separates it from  $\Sigma$ , was extraordinarily careless is shown by the fact previously mentioned that in the *pro Murena* alone an entire line of  $\Sigma$  is omitted in *W* on four occasions, and that in no less than eleven cases in this speech and the *pro Sex. Roscio* an omission is due to the accident that the eye of the writer passed from a word in the line above to that immediately underneath it in the line below.

Apart from this carelessness we find in *W* a strange confusion of letters, e.g. of

*a* and *o*.

maleficio = maleficia, oblatam = ablatam, facto = facta, multo = multa.

*a* and *e* and *i*.

putabat = putabit, labentibus = libentibus, emandatio = amandatio, miserenda = miseranda.

*u, m, n, ui.*

anxerunt = auxerunt, meo = nemo, unus = vivis, uissi = missi, sui = sin, curam = curavi, munerabat = numerabat.

Various other consonants.

sespirare = respirare, senatus = cenatus, celum = telum, issius = istius, ferram = terram, tanti = cauti, crinos = trinos.

Some of the corruptions are really surprising, e.g.

*Rosc.* § 12 petimus] penitus. § 26 decem] legem. § 28 ceperunt] operiunt.

§ 30 haec alii] ab alienis. § 38 deditam] meditati. § 57 alii] vñ. § 59 homines] bonos. ib. vestro] nescio. § 98 videtis] pidetis. § 117 ac minatur] aminatur. § 118 cessisse] consisse. § 124 habet ut] sunt. *Mur.* § 20 fingendi] coicandi. § 25 Cn. Flavius] cn. ii Flavius. § 55 laudis] legis. § 60 iusticiam] insciam. § 75 stucius stravit] seincustravit. § 78 ais] ab hiis. § 82 quantum] contrarium. § 90 patri] pecori.

The words inserted by  $\Sigma^2$  *in lac.* have naturally fared badly, e. g.

*Mur.* § 10 quod] caud  $\Sigma^2$ : cano *W*. § 55 sum animo] sumanisho  $\Sigma^2$ : sumam huius *W*. § 66 huiusmodi] huiusmodi odi  $\Sigma^2$ : huiusmodi edii *W*. § 68 obviam] ouiuam  $\Sigma^2$ : omniam *W*.

It will be convenient to append a list of passages in the *pro Roscio* and *pro Murena* where we find

(i) Simple corrections in *W*, where  $\Sigma$  is corrupt.

In five cases a necessary correction is found in *W sol.*, viz.

*Rosc.* § 8 spoliis ex *W*: spoliis sex  $\Sigma\pi$ , *variant cett.* § 23 perditum *W*: praeditum *cett.* § 92 tu T. Rosci *W*: ut Rosci  $\Sigma$ : tu Rosci *cett.* § 110 fretus mora *W*: fretumora  $\Sigma$ : fretum ora (hora) *cett.* *Mur.* § 48 satietati *W*: sapietati  $\Sigma$ : sapientiae *cett.*

In nine others a correction not peculiar to *W* occurs in it, viz.

*Rosc.* § 86 quaerenda <causa>  $\omega SW$ : om. causa *cett.* § 101 nos istorum  $\psi^2 W$ : nonistorum  $\Sigma$ : istorum *cett.* § 145 maxima tu uteris *SW*: maximat veteris  $\Sigma$ : maxima uteris *cett.* *Mur.* § 13 circumspicere  $\chi^2 W$ : cumspicere  $\Sigma$ : conspicere *cett.* § 18 pares *SW*: pare  $\Sigma\chi$ : pari *cett.* § 25 ediscendis *SW*, *aliquot dett.*: discendis  $\omega$ : eliscendis  $\Sigma$  *cett.* § 27 quia  $\phi\psi^2\omega W$ : cuia  $\Sigma$  *cett.* § 34 ipse *Lag.* 9, *W*: ipso  $\Sigma$  *cett.* § 49 militum <tum>  $\psi^2 W$ : om. tum *cett.*

Most of these are easy conjectures and some of them, e. g. *Rosc.* §§ 101, 145, *Mur.* §§ 13, 18, 48, are clearly based upon the reading of  $\Sigma$ .

(ii) Plausible variants in *W*, which the evidence of  $\Sigma$  shows to be due to accident or conjecture, viz.

*Rosc.* § 7 (31. 17) si] nisi *W*, Halm<sup>2</sup>, Weidner. § 8 (31. 27) illorum] eorum *W*, *prob.* Halm. § 13 (33. 13) hunc ipsum] om. ipsum *W*, Halm *in Addendis*. § 40 (40. 29) patri non placebat om. *W*, *del.* Madvig. § 44 (41. 23) atque a veritate] om. a *W*, *prob.* Halm. § 54 (44. 12) cogitabat. Cogitabat] cogitabat *W*, Madvig. § 55 (44. 24) possim] possum *W*. § 56 (44. 28) utilius est autem] utilius est *W*, 'fort. recte' Halm. § 60 (46. 4) esse aliquem] 'aliquem esse ed. Ven.: om. esse *W*, ut lectio Ven. vera videatur' Halm. § 67 (48. 3) hae . . . Furiae] haec . . . Furiae *W* (*ita*  $\phi\omega$ , hac . . . Furiae  $\sigma$ ), Müller, Landgraf.

§ 70 (48. 30) ita nudos] *om.* ita *W*, *del.* Kayser. § 77 (50. 23) quod innocenti] *om.* quod *W*, Eberhard, Landgraf. § 116 (61. 4) fingi maleficium nullum] *om.* fingi *W*: maleficium nullum fingi *edd. rec.* (*ita S*). § 129 (65. 6) mihi ipsi] *om.* ipsi *W*, *del.* Kayser. *ib.* (65. 8) vitae casum causamque] vitae discrimen casumque *W*. § 137 (67. 27) in isto] *om.* in *W*, *edd. rec.* § 145 (69. 22) cognosti] cognovisti *W*, *edd. rec.* § 147 (70. 9) patrem clarissimum] clarissimum patrem *W*, Halm, *alii.* § 152 (71. 22) dubium] dubiumne *W*, *edd. rec.* § 153 (71. 28) eam ad rem] eadem rem  $\Sigma$ : ad eadem rem *W*: ad eam rem, *susp.* Halm.

*Mur.* § 8 (719. 24) ab eodem] habeod  $\Sigma$ , ab eo *W*, Halm. § 11 (720. 27) illos] *om.* *W*, *del.* Halm. *ib.* (720. 31) hostem] hostis *W*, Halm. § 12 (721. 8) sed etiam] *om.* etiam *W*, *del.* Halm. § 13 (721. 15) convicio] comitio *W*: concilio *susp.* Halm. § 14 (721. 18) ut eius . . . in vita proferatur] ut in eius vita . . . proferatur *W*, in vita *del.* Halm. § 25 (725. 24) pervulgata] promulgata *W*, Halm (*ita* § 26). § 26 (726. 7) in illo suis] in illis suis *W*, 'fort. recte' Halm. § 28 (727. 15) me iuris consultum esse] me esse iuris consultum *W*, Halm. § 30 (728. 16) Sulpici *om.* *W*, *del.* Halm. § 32 (729. 11) hunc regem] *om.* regem *W*, *del.* Halm. *ib.* (729. 20) ac notis] atque notis *W*, Halm. § 47 (735. 12) haec quis] *om.* haec *W*, *del.* Halm. *ib.* (735. 20) occulta] *om.* *W*, *del.* Bake. § 51 (737. 5) idem ille] ille idem *W*, Halm. § 52 (737. 14) est factum] factum est *W*, Halm. § 54 (737. 25) locus est relictus] locus est relictus  $\Sigma$ : locus relictus est *W*: locus reliquus est, Halm. § 56 (738. 8) cum sunt gravia] cum sint gravia *W*, Halm. § 58 (739. 4) illud] *om.* *W*, *del.* Halm. § 60 (740. 3) te esse] *om.* te *W*, *del.* Halm. § 61 (740. 16) eiusmodi] huiusmodi *W*, Halm. § 63 (741. 12) genera esse] esse genera *W*, Halm. § 65 (741. 29) isti ipsi mihi] ipsi michi isti *W*: mihi isti Halm. § 66 (742. 15) qui] quam *W*: quoniam Halm. § 67 (742. 25) quod] quid *W*: qui *coni.* Halm. § 71 (744. 12) ipsorum] eorum *W*, Halm. § 73 (745. 10) iam] *om.* *W*, *del.* Halm. § 83 (749. 4) hac de re] de hac re *W*, Halm. *ib.* (749. 6) suum] summum *W*, Halm.

Most of these are clearly *proprii errores* of *W*, though a few may be attempts at correction.

Somewhat different are

*Rosc.* § 39 (40. 23) luxuria] luxoriae  $\Sigma$ , luxurie *W*, Müller, Landgraf, where the reading of  $\Sigma$  may be due to a combination of variants, i.e. *luxorie*<sup>a</sup>: also § 75 (50. 9) luxuria] luxoriae  $\Sigma$ , luxurie, Müller, Landgraf.

*Rosc.* § 74 (49. 27) quaero] quaero quos (*et in mg* quae)  $\Sigma$ : quacros quos *W*: quaero per quos *susp.* Halm: quaero servos Vahlen.

‘QUANTUM diligentiae ingenii peritiaeque in me fuit adhibui ut omnia secundum priorem textum rescriberem, notare etiam marginibus ubique lectiones istorum logodaedalorum et sane barbaricarum beluarum. Curavi etiam usque ad punctum minimum omnia ad veteris speciem exprimere, etiam ubi essent nonnullae vetustatis delirationes: nam velim potius cum veteri illo delirare quam cum istis diligentibus sapere.’

IOHANNES LAMOLA ad FRANCISCUM BARBARUM.



# EXCERPTA MONTEPOLITIANA (LAUR. LIV. 5)

## (1) *List of Excerpts.*

**Mil.** §§ 1-5 Etsi... non possumus § 6 quamquam... condonetis  
 § 7 sed ante... accusatoribus §§ 9-10 quod si... iniusta lex (*sic*) est  
 igitur... imbuti sumus

**Rosc. Am.** § 52 leuia inepta nugatoria § 53 exheredare  
 ... cogitabat § 56 an scribi (*sic*)... uenerint § 59 operae pretium  
 erat consideraret (*sic*)... dixerit (*sic*) cum in... spatia retur  
 § 64 cum... conclaue duo... cubantes de parricidio delati sunt  
 § 67 agitari... cogitationes § 74 quos... sicarios pretium... solet  
 § 75 parsimoniae diligentiae verum haec missa facio § 80 eosdem...  
 bonorum § 89 non enim... dicere § 95 uenit... tui § 96  
 tuus cliens et familiaris § 97 quae... coegit § 98 non uersatur...  
 Glaucia § 100 habeo etiam dicere § 102 itaque... dicerent  
 § 103 testimonium... curauit § 104 mihi ausculta nunc quid...  
 uideamini § 110 impedimento... doceatur istius... poteritis § 108  
 si nihil... donabantur § 110 postremo... adierunt itaque... supponitur  
 § 109 uenit... iudicator § 112 quid recipis... credidisset § 113  
 perfidia... affecerit § 114 si hanc... amitteret § 115 ipse...  
 fecit § 117 at uero... potuerunt § 118 multa... uidebitur hoc  
 quidem... ex illis num aut... audacia § 120 ita credo... rusticani  
 § 123 uerum ego... possum § 125 non ita... scio § 127 id  
 quod... aperietur § 131 ab eo... uidemus § 132 uerum...  
 Chrysogonum §§ 133-135 domus... potentem putet

**Cael.** § 74 quae nisi... consecutus § 75 fama... metas § 76  
 quae studia... inserenda § 78 aut ministrum... libidini § 79 con-  
 stituitote... seruate nolite... capietis

**Rosc. Am.** §§ 1-2 credo... reciperem § 5 his de... desertus  
 esset § 6 duobus... nummum in pecuniam... inuaserit obstare atque  
 officere hunc sibi ex animo scrupulum ut euellatis postulat § 7 ego  
 contra... aequiorem § 9 his de... pericula § 10 quod mihi... est  
 § 11 talem... impertias § 13 in fortunas huius inuaserunt § 15 Sex.  
 Roscius... consuetudo § 17 quorum... cognomen est nuper...  
 contulit § 19 et cum... peruolauit § 20 bonitas... tangunt  
 § 21 tria... traduntur studiosissimi nobilitatis manceps fit Chrysogonus

- § 22 tam multi ... despexerit      § 23 qui nondum ... patriis      multa ...  
 uendebat      § 26 Ameriam re inorata reuerterunt      differre cotidie ac  
 procrastinare      § 27 recepit ... opitulata est      § 29 hoc ... impulsis (*sic*)  
 § 30 pater ... appetita      utrum ... culleum supplicium parricidarum      § 31  
 omnia succurram ... dicere      § 33 hominem ... constat      cum ab eo ...  
 esset eum      vir sanctissimus atque ornatissimus      § 38 mores ... perdita  
 § 42 ego res ... possum      relegationis ac supplicii gratia      § 44 an  
 amandarat ... solitum esse      et rusticana ... amandatio      § 46 minoris ...  
 rusticum      § 47 multos nominatim proferre      § 50 ne tu ... iudicares  
**Cael.** § 13 quis in uno loptatibus (*sic*) ... effusior      tueri obsequio      cum  
 tristibus ... uiuere      § 14 cuius ego ... deprehendi      § 15 titubanter et  
 strictim      § 16 sodalium ac sequestrum      § 17 uidere (*sic*) quam ...  
 ullam      § 18 reprehendistis ... repre. ē      § 19 fretus uestra pru-  
 dentia      qui nobis gratificari uellet      § 21 ultro se ... polliceri      nullo  
 negotio ... potest      § 23 non modo ... quidem      § 25 subtilis et (*sic*)  
 ... oratio      multa de luxuria, multa de libidine      § 26 fera ... Lupercorum  
 § 28 se ad frugem ... fuisse      § 32 petulanter ... nominamus      nisi ... erro  
 § 33 utrum me ... cons. fuisse      § 34 nonne te ... non est      idonee ... cele-  
 brares      § 35 accusatores ... iactant      § 36 confer te alio      quid tumultuaris  
 ... insanis      calcitat (*sic*) respuit repellit      confer ... uenit      habes ... es  
 § 37 nunc enim ... cumulatur cura      cur te ... contulisti      si egebis ...  
 meae      § 38 nulla cupiditate inductum      nulli ... ciuitate      si uidua ...  
 uiueret      § 39 ego si ... absoluerunt (*sic*)      § 41 multa enim ... virtus  
 con. (*ante lac.*)      quibus illa ... posset      § 51 sed quoniam ... mea      magnum  
 ... solicitandis      § 59 cur interdum ... fraudis      integerrima ... eriperetur  
 significabat ... mihi      § 61 ueneni pyxidem      quid attinuerit ... consti-  
 tutum      sin autem ... extiterat      § 62 balneas Senias      publicas      quae  
 ... posset      sin se ... balneatori familiaris (*sic*)      § 64 ut res ... testa-  
 tor      § 65 potueruntne ... quam cum      scabella ... tollitur      § 66  
 mulieraria manus      valentes ... perterritum      pregestit (*sic*) ... nobilis in  
 conuiuuis ... lichnorum      nauent aliam operam      § 69 nisi omnia ...  
 uiderenturū (*sic*)      § 73 contubernalis ... diligentissimo      § 74 accusauit  
 ... cogitati  
**Mur.** § 67 si conducti ... vulgo e. d. (*sic*)      nam factum ... quaeritur  
 § 68 multi obuiam ... reuertenti      § 69 a consuetudine non abhorret      qua in  
 ... rogatos      si denique ... tribulis      § 70 a quibus ... coli      § 71 nulla est  
 ... uocati      quod enim ... tribulibus      § 73 quid statuent ... crimina      nec  
 si ... candidatorum      § 74 utrum ... retinuerunt      § 75 rogatus ...  
 samia      § 76 his edinis ... deiectus est      cur enim ... rogas      § 77

postea quam ... neglegentius si ... prauissima § 79 sed ab ...  
 restiterunt § 80 nolite mihi ... tradere § 82 ne sufficiatur consul  
 § 84 non nemo hostis ... faxint § 86 vester est ... priuare § 87 sit ...  
 misericordiam §§ 89-90 quo animo ... spondeam  
**Cael.** § 1 Si quid (*sic*) ... liceat esse § 3 ad ea ... dixerunt § 6  
 equidem ... commendat. a. i. m. (*sic*) sed aliud est ... nominatur § 7  
 tecum ... erga te § 8 ut quantum ... seiungas § 10 quamquam  
 multi ... studuerunt sed ego ... infestum est § 11 nobilis (*sic*) quidem  
 ... militaris sua grauitate et castimonia § 12 habuit ... uirtutum  
**Clu.** § 179 cum esset ... animadueteretur § 180 in auctione ...  
 uideretur insimulato ... pertimuit ex serula insimulatus § 181 armario  
 ... recuperata minus veri simile seruum fidelissimum ... dedit § 183  
 improbitate ... respirat quod si aut ... modo possit § 184 mulier  
 abundat ... deficitur Stratonem ... affecerat § 186 esto in ... ipsa  
 quaestio § 187 nam Stratonem ... lingua § 188 nihil mali est ...  
 cogita. effec. (*sic*) § 190 illum donis ... obstrinxit § 192 atque his ...  
 misisse (*sic*) § 193 nemo ex ... fugeret § 194 cuius ego ... confido  
 § 196 praeterea ... assequantur (*sic*) § 202 satis diu ... ueritati  
**Mur.** § 1 quae ... sint, iudices § 2 ante quam ... potior § 3  
 et primum ... respondebo § 4 quod si ... esse solent (*sic*) § 5 nam  
 quod ... confiterer § 6 ego autem ... libenter § 7 sed me ...  
 conquestio huic ego ... arbitros postulandum nihil (*sic*) ... a consule § 8  
 atque hoc ... contentione summam ... integrum § 9 quod si ... coarguit  
 et si turpe ... oportere § 10 ego uero ... defuissem § 11 aut cum ...  
 triumph. (*sic*) § 13 qua re ... uocare nemo enim ... honesto nullum  
 turpe ... ostenditur § 15 si tibi ... plebeiae § 18 non eundem ...  
 sortis fuit non tam gratiosam ... molestam § 19 Seruius hic ...  
 exorbit § 16 itaque non ... tuae § 17 quanquam ego ... hominibus  
 § 20 qua in ... cepit § 22 uigilas ... regendis § 25 res enim ...  
 occupatae § 26 fundus ... postea quid postea uero ... deprauata sunt  
 § 27 iam illud ... oporteret § 29 quapropter ... antecellet etenim a ...  
 petitur § 31 nam si ... Mummii atqui ex ... Scipio § 33 nam  
 cum ... prouincia acerrima pugna quae cum (*sic*) ... contentione § 35  
 pergitis ... populo quod enim ... agitationes § 36 nihil est ...  
 comitorum § 40 quod si ego ... commouebat § 42 cui placet ...  
 meminit § 45 serpit hic rumor uidesne ... hastas § 47 poena  
 grauior ... tenuiorum aut contra ... morbi § 46 cum te ... deflexisses  
 gestus est ... tuae § 61 et quoniam ... mutare numquam §§ 62, 63  
 mutare sententiam ... moderatas § 65 ac te ... auguror iam usus ...

mitigabit § 66 quis uero . . . sapientior quemquamne . . . diceres sed  
 si . . . iocundius § 67 puniui . . . si uoles

**Clu.** § 92 num alia . . . tum fuit § 94 nuper apud . . . non  
 putarunt Sulla . . . plurimis tempus . . . concitatum § 100 sicut in  
 status inauratis egestas . . . proferebatur § 105 imperitorum rumusculos  
 aucupari (*sic*) § 107 sine ui (*sic*) peritior . . . posset § 110 nam  
 Quinctius . . . uacua multitudinemque . . . reuoc. (*sic*) § 111 fecit (*sic*) enim  
 . . . recordemini rem . . . detulit si quis ignobili . . . prosecuta est § 113  
 illa igitur . . . fuerunt § 114 quid enim . . . testibus § 117 nam mihi  
 . . . constituta censuit (*sic*) § 118 a me tamen . . . dicentur § 119 hunc  
 postea . . . praefuisse § 120 neminem . . . conuenissent (*sic*) § 121  
 itaque . . . debuerunt deinde . . . referre § 122 ut alter . . . uetat (*sic*)  
 § 123 ne censorium . . . pertimescamus § 124 unum . . . ostende  
 § 125 qui testamentum . . . obsign. (*sic*) qui eius uxorem . . . dampnatis  
 § 126 non hominem . . . proferam scribam edilitium § 128 statuerunt  
 . . . perueniret § 130 erant iudicia . . . reprehendisse § 132 quid est  
 . . . ratas esse putat (*sic*) § 133 nullam quidem . . . erratum § 139 sed  
 erat (*sic*) . . . patronorum § 140 hominem . . . dixisse cum Brutus . . .  
 curasset Crassus . . . dicitur § 141 forte euenit . . . requirebat § 146  
 mens et . . . esse possimus § 147 circumspicite . . . uidebitis § 148 qui  
 uenenum . . . uocatur § 149 ego mea (*sic*) . . . superatum omnibus hic  
 . . . possunt § 154 permulta essent ornamenta locus . . . in rebus  
 § 161 a (*sic*) nullo . . . tractatus est § 162 mulierem . . . reddidit § 163  
 coponem . . . taberna sua § 168 cum ad illud . . . pepercisset § 172  
 quem sibi . . . sciebat esse § 173 celerius . . . permanare § 177 cum  
 iam . . . defessa quidam ex aduocatis § 178 unum . . . uideretur

**Clu.** § 7 quamobrem . . . tenet orribilem (*sic*) . . . futurum § 8  
 dum breuiter . . . attenteque aud. (*sic*) § 9 faciam ut intelligatis quid res  
 . . . conflarit § 11 homo non . . . consobrino suo § 12 deinde ita . . .  
 pellexit § 13 sed nefarium . . . non posset § 14 palam . . . libidinis  
 lectum . . . strauerat § 15 uicit . . . amentia § 17 cuiuscumque . . .  
 dici A. Cluentius . . . et profectum § 18 audax . . . uideat § 19 nunc  
 . . . exponam § 20 propositum . . . ratione § 23 quas litteras . . .  
 experiens § 27 filius natus (*sic*) . . . passuum § 28 Larinum . . . fecit  
 § 29 de eo (*ante 3 litt. lac.*) quo . . . consceleratum u. ī (*sic*) § 30 aceruatim . . .  
 sunt per (*sic*) iudicium . . . corruptum omnia . . . fuerunt § 31 in ipso . . .  
 uidetur nefarium facinus cum esset . . . uxor § 32 memoria . . . dampnatam  
 § 33 itaque . . . pecuniam § 34 si haec . . . appellanda est ratio . . . Romam  
 hos . . . secutus est § 38 in eum inuadunt § 39 itaque cum . . .

accipit § 40 Clodium ... transigit cui fora ... sustulit § 41 cum  
 tabulas ... obsignauit nemo illum ... nocentem § 42 erat huic ... at  
 (*sic*) mater § 43 Martiales ... consecrati § 44 magni ... arbitra-  
 bantur § 45 neque legare (*sic*) ... inducere § 46 cum omnis ...  
 nascerentur § 47 erat illo ... Auitus seruus non ... integer § 48  
 quis umquam ... adductus est § 51 semper ... si multa § 58 cum  
 hoc ... dixisset § 59 cum his ... natus esset § 60 ipsum principem  
 ... absoluerent § 65 mentionem ... facitis § 66 uos quaeso ...  
 audiatis § 68 sexcentis ... dixerat saluti desperare uetuit § 70 nam  
 perinde ... ita § 82 uestigiisne ... possimus (*sic*) § 84 sapientissimum  
 ... comprobatur § 89 non modo ... datum est § 90 quid ... fuit

**Mil.** § 84 quiddam quod ... sustulit § 85 quas ille ... oppresserat  
 § 86 sine imaginibus ... sine funere § 90 curiam incenderit ... funestari  
 §§ 101-105 nunc me ... delegit

**Clu.** § 1 animaduerti ... rationem itaque mihi ... dicendo § 2 per  
 mihi ... uidetur concionibus ... iudiciis § 3 de inuidia ... debetis  
 § 5 uehementis ... consenescat § 6 ut ne ... afferatis si eam ... extor-  
 quebit § 7 sed si ... inuidia

**Mil.** § 10 ut si ... uetat § 11 insidiatorem ... posse § 12  
 senatum ... assensionibus declarant ... contiones § 13 de illo incesto  
 ... erepta § 14 sed cum ... reseruari (*sic*) quod si ... haberemus  
 § 15 mihi uero ... oporteret § 16 nihil de ... dolore num igitur ...  
 necantur § 40 quae tum ... fuit § 39 omnia tum ... mei P. Len-  
 tulus ... meae § 41 cum ille ... fugeret § 42 scio enim ... flexible  
 § 44 audisti (*sic*) uiuo ... triduo § 47 primum ... insidiaretur me  
 uidelicet ... describebant § 48 testamentum Cyri ... una fui § 49  
 primum nihil ... opus esset § 51 ad uillam ... deuersurum § 53  
 ante fundum ... excelso l. (*sic*) § 54 si haec ... sederet uxor cum  
 penula ... esset § 56 uitam suam ... sciebat § 60 ne quis ... possit  
 § 64 scutorum ... Miloni § 67 si haec ... iuuentus § 68 neminem  
 ... sibi § 72 qui collegae ... abrogauit § 73 eum quem ... iuratus  
 § 74 qui cum architectis ... peragrabat repente ... immortales § 75  
 hominem mihi ... limine § 76 in rem publicam ... irruebat quae uero  
 ... ferre fingi ... tenentur § 77 per me ut ... maneret § 79  
 liberae ... uidemus qui ea ... praeter illum § 84 est ... inest

**Rosc. Am.** § 136 quis enim ... retineretur § 137 tum uero ...  
 Romanus est § 139 sua cuique procuratio § 142 ille improbissimus  
 ... putat § 143 putet homo ... rusticus § 146 qua ista ... mallet  
 § 147 quasi uero ... redderet § 149 causam ... permitteretur §§ 150,  
 151 sin ea ... existimetur §§ 153, 154 illam priorem ... amittimus

## (2) Collation of Variants.

## PRO SEXTO ROSCIO

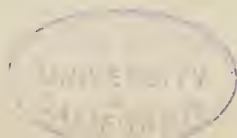
[The references are to the pages and lines of Baiter-Halm's Orelli.]

- Page 30.** 4 omnes] omnes enim                    7 sequuntur] secuntur    vitant]  
 metuunt            9 sim] sum  
**31.** 8 alienam] *om.*                    10 obstare] ostare  
**32.** 10 Sex. Roscii pericula] s. r. pic.            20 rei publicae] p. r.  
**33.** 24 vicinitatis] uicinitatis facinitatis  
**35.** 4 cisiis] cissis                    18 vel nobilissima] *om.*  
**36.** 11 atque focus] focus  
**37.** 8 re inorata] *inest*  
**38.** 4 impulsu] impulsis                    15 culleum] culleum supplicium parricidarum  
 20 atque] ac                    21 quae . . . omnia] *om.*  
**39.** 14 immanemque] inmanemque  
**41.** 18 amandarat] *inest*                    20 certis] ceteris  
**42.** 5 filium] f.                    8 nominatim] nominatio  
**43.** 3 Eruci] cruci                    arcessebantur] arcessitantur  
**44.** 29 anseribus] an scribi                    30 Capitolio] capitulo  
**45.** 27 considerare] consideraret                    28 sederent] sederant    quaesisse]  
 quesisset                    30 dixerim] dixerit  
**47.** 5 delata] delati  
**49.** 28 hosce] hosit                    sicarios] sicario                    31-32 dedit] deditur *ter*  
**58.** 1 hominem] *om.*                    curavit] curarit                    3 ausculta] ausculta                    8 quid  
 est] quid ego                    9 sint ut.] sunt ut                    10 a nobis] *inest*  
**59.** 6 a Chrysogono] Chrysogono                    12 Capito] capio                    14 ius  
 tam] istum                    15 eius scelus] eiusce uis                    25 hortatore] <sup>h</sup>ortatore  
 Sullam] suam                    31 mandati constitutum] mandatum institutum                    33 in  
 his] *om.*  
**60.** 5 officis] officiis                    8 iis qui] his qui                    10 fere] *om.*                    22 caeri-  
 moniam] ceremoniam                    23 Chrysogono] Chrysono                    25 esse putaret]  
 esset                    26 damnatus] dampnatus  
**61.** 17 induxit] *om.*  
**62.** 2 ille] iste                    gladio recessisse] gladiatori cessisse                    4 audacia] aud.

63. 1 ex tot] et tot      2 velit hos] ut hos uelit  
 66. 3 ex iis] ex his      nunc cum] nunc      4 omnium] omnem  
 15 authepsa] aut hepsa      16 quid praeco enumeraret] pecuniam numerare  
 20 una in domo] una in nemo      22 hasce] asce      artes] artis      vulgares]  
 uulgaris      coquos] cocos      pistores] pictores      23 tot homines] homines tot  
 quotid.] cotid.      *sed l. 25* quotid.  
 67. 1 et devers.] ac deuers.      2 delibuto] dilibuto      4 etiam videtis  
 iudices] *om.*      27 isto] in isto      subactus] intactus  
 70. 8 Caecilia] Cecilia      Baliarici] Baliaris      9 clarissimum patrem]  
 patrem clarissimum      26 Roscii] R.  
 71. 9 re publica] rem publicam      13 iugulare] iuculare      potuissent]  
 potuisset      15 collocent] collocentur      17 tales] talis      18 di] d.  
 33 est] *om.*  
 72. 2 putetis] putetitis      3 sapientes] sapientis      praeditos] preditos  
 4 iis maxime] his maxime.      7 civitate] ciuit.      11 horis] homines  
 aliquid] aliqui.

## PRO CLUENTIO

- Page 541. 1 partes] partis      2 magno opere] magnopere      3 Iuniani]  
 humani      7 nihil me] me nihil      19 autem] *om.*      inter nos] *inest*  
 542. 22 praeiudicati] praeiudicii  
 543. 5 benevol.] beniuol.      11 horribile] orribilem      eum] cum  
 12 tandem] tantundem      miserae] misere      iactatae] iactate, *ila saepe*  
 21 breviter] dum breuiter      22 sicut... instituistis] *om.*      33 faciamque]  
 faciam  
 544. 23 Sulla] Sylla      hunc] huc      24 nubilem] nobilem  
 545. 5 non pudicitia] *om.*      6 adol.] adul., *ila* 554. 34      10 pelli-  
 catum] pelicatum      16 exsultare] exultare      laetitia triumphare] *inest*  
 546. 11 nihil mali timuit] *om.*      21 profundere] perfundere      profu-  
 sum] perfusum      34 hac una ratione vitaret] deuitaret hac una ratione  
 549. 2 Papia] *om.*      3 Teani Apuli] Teano      26 eo de quo] eo  
 ... quo      27 de eo] *om.*      28 vultum intuebantur] u. i.  
 550. 1 iam reliqua] reliqua iam      propiora] propiora      2 huiusce  
 causae] *om.*      perveniam] per.      16 Auria] uiua      26 secundis] *om.*  
 28 damnatam] dampnatam, *ila semper*  
 551. 30 translata Romam] excogitata Rome



552. 28 itaque rem cum] itaque cum  
 553. 7 circumforaneum] foraneum duobus millibus] duo milia tabulis  
 est] *inest* 9 simul ... est] *om.* prima] una 11prehendisset] predi-  
 disset 12 qui ... fuisset] *om.* 12-13 cum id ... eius] *om.* posset]  
 possit 21 iudicavit] iud. aspernantur] aspernabatur 26 erat]  
 erant attamen] at  
 554. 2 ei deo] ideo 19 enim] *om.* quicquam] *om.* eius-  
 modi] huiusmodi 20 poterat animum] animum poterat 33 ab iis] ab his  
 555. 1 Habitus] Auitus 4 declaravit] declarat  
 556. 12 toties] totiens 14 implere] *om.* impudentiae] imprudentiae  
 15 non id] *inest* negligentiae] negligentientiae  
 558. 26 praeiudiciis] praeiudicibus  
 560. 34 attente audistis] attenditis ut  
 562. 3 opinio est] est opinio  
 566. 8 ducibus] iudicibus possumus] possimus  
 569. 7 residuis] repetundis 8 exlegem] exlege 9 tribuno plebis]  
 tr. pl.  
 571. 8 in medium] *om.*  
 572. 10 hominum] *om.* aucupati] aucupari 33 iure] sine iure  
 573. 28 Quinctius] Q. 29 unquam] *om.* quinquaginta] L.  
 30 quis eum] qui se laudatoris aut] lautioris 33 consuetudinis] consuet.  
 similitudinem] similitudine 34 revocarat] reuoc. 36 facite] fecit  
 574. 2 demissam] dimissam 6 natus] natus sit 7 eum] cum  
 20 iudicia fuerunt] iudicarunt  
 575. 31 officiis] officii necessitudo] censuit.  
 576. 22 modo de] modo 23 iudicem] uidelicet 24 convenisset]  
 conuenissent 30 religione] relig. 31 diligentia] dilig. 35 lectos]  
*inest*  
 577. 2 aerarios] eratio tribu] tribus moveri] mouere 3 vetet]  
 uetat 14 rettulerunt] retulerunt 15 gladium] *inest* 19 aliquid  
 a Cluentio] a Cluentio aliquid 26 supposita] subposita obsignandum]  
 obsign. 30 abortione] *inest*  
 578. 9 non hominem] nunc hominem 10 aedilicium] ediliticium  
 28 uidelicet] *om.*  
 579. 28 equestri] equestris 29 viderentur] uideretur 30 iudicia]  
 iudicia cum equestri hordine  
 580. 17 putet esse] esse putat  
 582. 17 errat] erat 19 enim illae] enim ille ac temporum] ac  
 temporis 25 posset negare] *inest* 31 duabus eius] duabus



583. 2 aliquantum] Crassus aliquantum 9 essemus] essem 11 cum  
assedimus] asse dacemus
584. 32 ut neruis] neruis et sanguine] ac sanguine 33 legum] et  
lecum
585. 31 vocantur] uocatur
586. 3 autem] *om.*
587. 28 essent] senatoris 29 splendor] splendore apud] *om.*
- 30 toga] toga et
589. 28 ab nullo] a nullo
591. 16 illa] *om.*
592. 29 comestum] *inest* venas] uenis omnes partis] partes omnis
594. 18 quam id] qui id 25 auri] auari duos] duo 27 H. S.\*\*]  
sextertiorum 28 cognito] ognito suspicio] suspitio 32 dentatam]  
dentum 33 serrulam] serrolam qua illud] quam illud circumsecari]  
circumsecare
595. 26 ullo iis] illo posset] possit
596. 37 est enim mali] mali est 39 cogitaverit effecerit] cogita. effec.
597. 20 donis] illum donis 35 misisset] misisse
598. 15 adspectus] aspectus
599. 4 assequatur] assequantur
600. 27 iniquus] iniquos non animum] animum esse] *om.* 30  
lenissime] leuissime 35 iucund.] iocund.

## PRO MURENA

- Page 716. 1 quae precatus] que deprecatus a dis] ab dis sum iudices]  
*om.* 2 centuriatis] centirinis
717. 1 fidei] *om.* 2 eisdem] hisdem 5 sollempnis] solempnis  
22 derigenti] dirigenti
718. 5 e portu] portu praedicere] praecipere solent et] solent ei  
7 praedonum] praedomum fert] affert 9 prope] pro 10 subeundas]  
solent 17 ipsi iam . . . defendendis] *om.* 24 partis] artis
719. 24 obruetur] obruitur ab eo] ab eod 27 amplissimi] amplis-  
simique
720. 2 auctore] auctorem 4 supplicum] supplicium 10 causa]  
cause 11 tuis] *om.* 18 defuissem] def. 32 an cum] aut cum  
34 triumpharet] triumph.
721. 14 Marce, arripere] M. Cato. arripere 23 commissatio] com-  
messatio
- [I. 10]

722. 4 neminem] ueniam            5 Aventinum] aduentinum            14 memo-  
ria est] est memoria            23-24 qui non . . . illis] *om.*
723. 14 sollicitudinis] sollicitudinis    ius civile didicit] *om.*            16 exsor-  
buit] exorbuit
724. 11 ille ut eo] ille uero ut    15 exercitatus] exercitus    tu in] tuque in
725. 29 quid postea] postea quid
726. 15 iactata] iacta    inanissima] et inanissima
727. 24 antecellit] *inest*
728. 23 contemn.] contempn.            24 M] M.            25 Flaminini] Flam-  
inii Aetolis] etholis            26 L. Mummi] L. Nummi            29 Antiocho  
anthioco
729. 24 belli ad] belli    constitisset] extitisset    Mithridates] Mitridates  
25 putasset] potasset
730. 16 mihi videtur illa] pugna            17 contentione] content.
731. 2 quem Euripum] quod Eurypum            9 comitiorum] comit.
732. 30 aedilis] edilis    commovebar] commouebat
734. 35 petitionis] petit.
735. 5 dignitati tuae] dignit. t.            7 efflagitata] efflata            11 valet.]  
ualit. incommodo] incommodum
740. 11 iucunda] iudicanda            15 aemuli] emuli            18 sapientes]  
sapientis            19 formosos] formosi            24 sententiam] sententia
741. 7-8 mutare sententiam turpe est] turpe est mutare sententiam  
8 autem] enim            12 distincta] districta
742. 8 iucund.] iocund., *ita l.* 20            13 diceres] d.            19 quae  
nunc] quae
743. 1 sectarentur] sectaretur            12 consulatum petenti] *om.*            13 eccui]  
et cui            26 obviam] *om.*            27 clientes vicinos] uicinos clientis
744. 6 si . . . deducimur] *om.*            18 poena] pena            19 spectacula]  
expectacula            23 tributum] tributum
745. 3 tribulum] tribulum    compararunt] comparant            13 propinqua]  
prinqua            14 necessaria] necessaria            23 iuuentutis] iuuent.            27 um-  
quam] unquam
746. 6 eruditissimus] cruditissimus    haedinis] edinis, *ita l.* 14.
747. 1 sin] si            2 reperiantur] reperientur
748. 5 tradere] tr.
750. 15 intuetur] tuetur            17 hac eum cum] hac cum
751. 23 celebrassent] celebrasset            24 existet] excidet            25 alie-  
nissima a] *inest*            29 causa tota] tota            30 Iunonis Sospitae] uir hosp.
752. 2 ut] *om.*    otii] *om.*

## PRO CAELIO

Page 1000. 2 consuetudinis] consuetudinisque 3 quod diebus] quia diebus ludisque] iudiciisque 5 arguatur] accusatus 6 consceleratis] conscelleratis 7 magistratibus] *inest* 8 oppugnarint] oppugnauerint improbet] improbat

1001. 1 iudicio] iudicium 2 adolescentem] adulescentem nobilem 5 muliebrem libidinem] libidinem muliebrem putet] putat 17 accusatores] *om.* 18 causa] *inest*

1002. 11 dimanavit] demanavit 12 existimationem] extimationem commendatione ac iudicio meorum] comendat. a. i. m. 18 ut notet] notet argumento] argumentum 19 teste] reste 20 convicium] conuitium 27 Atratine] Attatine agam lenius] lenius agam tuus] *om.* 28 meum] *om.* 30 abes] habes

1003. 16 ipsum] ipsis 17 aliorum] aliorum autem libidine] libidini 25 nobis] nobilis 27 mereri] merere coeperamus] ceperamus

1004. 1 sicuti . . . arbitror] *om.* 10 voluptatibus] uno luptatibus 17 iucunde] iocunde 18 audacter] audaciter

1005. 7 sequestrium] sequestrum 17 videte] uidere 24 semigrarit] se migrarit 25 reprehendendum] repre.

1008. 7 subtiliter] subtilis et 8 luxurie] luxuria 21 sodalitas sodalita pastoricia] pastoritia

1009. 10 illustres] illustris

1010. 25 fratre] fratrem 31 si illo] sin illo 32 ab inferis] de inferis hac barbula] ex barbula illa 33 sed illa] *inest* horrida] orrida 35 suscenseat] succenseat ipsa familia] familia ista

1011. 1 Caecus] cesus 2 extiterit] extiterit loquetur] loquatur 3 Caelio] Celio adolesc.] adulesc. 4 huic] huius commodares] accommodares 6 proavum atavum] non proavum non attavum non 13 ne progenies quidem] progenies aemulam] emula 15 tribuno plebei] tri. pl. 19 foedera] federa

1012. 1 adulteria] ad bteria 2 Baias] baius comissiones] comersationes symphonias] symphonia 17 calcitrat respuit] calcitat respuit repellit 18 hortos] horto 19 parasti] paratos 24 demum mi] mihi demum ira] cura 28 vicinitatem] ciuitatem meretriciam] meretricia 30 qui aetatis] quia etatis

1013. 3 est qui] *om.* istam] istam presertim 15 effuse] effusa 20 si qui] si quid 21 atque continentiae] ac continentiae 22 vitae

suae] sue uite      23 in animi] animi      conficeret] inficeret      quies] qui es  
 24 aequalium] equalium      convivia] conuiuium      27 instructum atque]  
 instructum<sup>at</sup>que      puto] p.      28 Curios] Furios      31 obsoleverunt]  
 absoluerunt

1014. 9 coniveret] con *ante 8 litt. lac.*      11 aut prolapsione] ac pro-  
 lapsione

1017. 10 iam e vadis] eam euadis      11 videtur] uidetur esse      16 in-  
 sidiandis] *inest*      17 sollicitandis] solicitandis

1020. 13 aut coniveteris] autem coniueteris      14 praesentes] prescritis  
 23 procella mihi] *inest*

1021. 11 eum locum] illum locum      14 iam iam] iam      extincta]  
 extincta      exstiterat] extiterat      25 in intimum] institutum      26 nec  
 satis commode] quomodo      28 familiaris facta erat balneari] balneari  
 familiaris

1022. 11 et res] ut res      20 magis tempore] *inest*

1023. 2 alacres] alacris      7 iam videre primum] prim. iam uidere  
 16 vinum] humum      disert] disert]      17 commissatorum] commessorum  
 18 ac lychnorum] alia lychnorum

1024. 9 in istam] in ista      viderentur] uiderentur

1025. 7 homini] *inest*      15 C.] M.      22 paulum] paululum

1026. 3 significant] *inest*      5 a gloria] ad gloriam      6 efflorescit]  
 efflorescit      24 populi Romani] p. r.      26 inquinatum] inquinatu  
 27 urbis] orbis      28 et inflammandam] et ad flammandam      incitavit] *om.*  
 in hac] in ea      29 Caelium] Celium

1027. 1 unico] uni eo      2 quem vos] quem      4 vestrorum] nostro-  
 rum      5 iucund.] iocund.      sustentate] seruate      6 natura ipsa] ipsa  
 natura      7 exstingui] extingui      11 spei maximae] spes maxime  
 12 sed etiam] uerum etiam      perculisse] pfluisse      afflixisse] perpulsi-  
 14 vestris] seruis

## PRO MILONE

Page 1152. 5 consuetudinem] veterem consuetudinem      8 collocata]  
 collata      9 aliquid] terroris aliquid      12 nec] nec enim      13 oratori]  
 orationi      et reficit] *om.*      Pompeii] Pompei

1153. 1 iustissimi] *inest*      6 neque] nec      7 vero] non      8  
 neque] nec      9 intuentes] confluentis      10 exspectantes] expectantis  
 11 hodierno] de hodierno      13 exitiis] ex siti *pr. scr.*      14 hesterna]

externa quid] qui<sup>a</sup> 17 praec] *inest* adeste] adest 18, 19 de bonis  
 . . . umquam] *om.* vobis] *om.* 20 umquam] unquam 21 fortes]  
 fortis 24 auctoritati] auctoritate 27 sollicitum] sollicitum 28 ad  
 rem publicam] p.

1154. 4 rebusque omnibus] rebusque 6 Clodio factas] *inest* depreca-  
 turi] precaturi 15 videntur] uideo ea esse] mihi ea esse

1155. 5 duodecim] xii furem] fuere modo] *om.* 6 defenderet]  
 defenderit 8 gladium nobis] nobis gladium 13 afferebat] afferentis  
 14 scelere] sceleris 15 nex] lex 23 exspectari] expectari iubent]  
 uolunt 25 non] *inest, sine* modo 30 iure interfici] interfici iure  
 33 iudicasse] hanc cedem

1156. 1 factam] *om.* 6 tribuni pl.] tr. pl. 16 stupro] strupo  
 17 esset] *om.* 27 inesset] inessent 28 reservavi] reseruari 29 tribu-  
 num] tribuum

1157. 17 consultus] consultus est in hac urbe fuisse] fuisse in hac urbe  
 20 genuit] ingenuit

1165. 5 omnium] omnia tum civium] ciuilium 18 ruisset] irrupisset  
 curavisset] curasset 28 obscure quae] quae obscure fictam leuem] falsam  
 fictam leuem 29 est enim] *inest* 30 fragile] fragile

1166. 13 audistis] audisti

1167. 11 et perdit] ac perdit 20 una fui, testamentum simul obsignavi  
 cum Clodio] testamentum Cyri simul obsignaui cum Clodio una fui 25 erat  
 nihil] nihil erat

1168. 25 versabantur] uersabatur loco] l. 29 audiretis] audieretis  
 uter . . . mali] *om.* 31 reda] *inest: ita* 1169. 1 paenul.] penul.: *ita*

1169. 1

1169. 19 quam] *om.* 20 praemiis] pessimis *pr. scr.*

1170. 27 cum iis] cum his

1171. 31 frenorum pilorumque] pilorum frenorum 33 Miloni non]  
 non Miloni

1174. 6 abrogavit] *inest* 11 stuprum] struprum L.] *om.* 29 ma-  
 teriem] materiam

1175. 1 caementa] cementa arma] arenam extruere aedificium] edifi-  
 cium extruere 11 limine] *inest* 20 haec putatis] putatis haec  
 27 in civitate] *ante leges scr.*

1176. 15 sunt enim] sint enim 16 cernimus quae videmus] cernamus  
 quae uidemus 21 fortuna] fortitudine 34 est est] est in profecto  
 illa vis] illa uis profecto 36 tam praeclaro] tamque praeclaro 37 ip-  
 sam] ipsa 39 aut plane] ac plane

1178. 1 igitur ipsa] *inest*      incredibiles] incredibilis      24 exsequiis]  
exequiis    sine lamentis] *om.*

1179. 31 urbis] orbis

1182. 20 tuorum] *om.*      supplicem] suplicem      22 communionem]  
communione    si quae] si qua      23 si quae] si qua      24 quod] *inest*  
eam] meam      25 non recuso, non abnuo] non abnuo, non recuso  
26 salute] salutem      28 movetur] commouetur      30 sed] sit      31 ani-  
mo eritis] eritis animo      eiicietis] eicietis      32 in terris ullus] ullus in terris  
34 sanguinem] sanguinis      vos in viri et in civis] uos unquam et cuius      appello  
periculo] periculo appello

1183. 3 Quinte] Q.      6 grata gentibus] *inest*      7 non potuisse]  
a quibus non potuisse    iis] ab his    acquirerunt] adquierunt      8 concepi]  
incepti      9 iudicia] iud.      10 exstinxi] extinxi    in me meosque] mihi  
meique      11 voluistis] uoluisti    inspectante] spectante      12 expelleren-  
tur] expelleretur      14 esse] *om.*    distrahar] distrahor      15 di] dii  
17 utinam] ut    praetor, consul] p̄f. cos.      18 viderem] uideret      19 iu-  
dices, conservandum virum] uirum conseruandum, iudices      20 minime]  
minime] minime      21 hicine] hicne      25 illam beatam] *om.*      26 ex-  
ceperit] excipiet      27 prae] pro    possum] possumus      29 sentietis]  
sententiis      30 probabit] comprobavit      31 elegit] delegit

[*Quoties Cod. Laur. XLVIII. 10, anno 1415 a Ioanne Arretino scriptus, cum lem-  
mate vel cum Parisiensi congruit, consensum asterisco notavi: quoties ab utroque  
dissentit, lectionem in calce paginae posui.*

*Litteras et voces a m. 2 in lacuna supplelas typis inclinatis imprimendas curavi.  
Illud etiam monuerim in initio vocabuli litt. v non u in hoc codice fere  
semper scriptam esse.]*

PRO SEXTO ROSCIO

*In marg. litt. min. pro Sex. Roscio.*

Page 30. 2 surrexerim] surrexerim is 4 omnes] \*omnes enim  
5 \*oportere] oportere, *ita saepe* 7 \*sequuntur] sequuntur vitant] \*metuunt  
8 \*minime. At] minime at 9 \*quam] quam sim] \*sum 11 qui  
istorum] \*quis istorum \*dixisset putaretur] dixisset putarentur 14 \*etiam  
si *inest* 16 \*atque in] atque ne in vulgus] vûlgus 19 \*nondum]  
non dum 20 \*ignosci] *add. in mg. m. 2* adolescentiae] adulescentiae meae  
\*tametsi] tam et si 22 \*causa] *add. sup. lin. m. 2* \*forsitan] forsitam  
*ita l. 30 et p. 54. 3* 23 facere se] \*se facere 24 \*ii] hi 25 nec  
benevolentiam] \*neque beniuolentiam 26 \*negligere] negligere 27 ex-  
stiti] \*extiti 31 \*quae tot] que tot tales] \*talis

31. 1 consueverunt] \*consuerunt 5 \*sexagies] *saexagiens* claris-  
simo et fortissimo] fortissimo et clarissimo \*Sulla *inest* 9 \*praeclaram]  
preclaram \*pecuniam] *pecuniam* 10 \*pecuniae] peccuniae \*videatur]  
vdeatur omnemque metum] \*omnem metumque 13 sperat] \*speret  
14 luxuriam] \*luxoriam, *ita semper* 16 \*nefariam] nephariam 18  
\*affero] adfero, *ita semper* \*mihi] mi||hi 19 \*Chrysogono] Chrisogono  
20 \*sanguinem] sanguinem|| 22 omnes] \*omnis 25 \*nihil] ni||hil, *ita  
saepe* 27 \*illorum] *inest* 31 \*idoneos] ||idoneos 32 assequantur]  
adsequantur, *ita semper* consueverunt] \*consuerunt

32. 3 \*horre] orrere 4 spoliis ex] spoliis sex \*auctique] aucti  
quae 7 \*intelligo] *inest, sed fere semper* intelleg. 9 \*attribuit] adtribuit  
15 \*quoad] quo ad 16 \*perferre non potero] perferre non potero perferri  
18 magno opere] magnopere 19 \*praebuisti] prebuisti 20 eidem]  
\*idem \*iudex] *inest* praesses] praesses rei publicae] \*populo Romano  
22 quae sit] que sit exspectatio] expectatio 23 acria] \*acra 24

Page 30. 1 quom tot 2 surrexerim<sup>o</sup>s 3 cum iis 6 assint 7 iccirco  
(*ita semper*) 9 cacteri (ita semper) 16 uul<sup>o</sup>gus 17 esse propter nobilitatem et  
amplitudinem potest 20 adolescentiae meae

31. 5 clarissimo *sine* et fortissimo 12 incolomi 17 profiteamur *pr. scr.* 21 in-  
sistatis 24 reperiretur 25 uideatur 28 ut ne quid iis 32 adsequatur

32. 4 spoliis Sex. 18 magnopere 22 expectatio 23 et saeuera

- \*sicarios] *sicarios* 25 \*maximaeque] *maxime quae* 26 \*maleficiis]  
maliciis<sup>er</sup> \*cotidiano que] *cotidiano quae* \*dimissius] *dimissui*  
33. 1 *consueverunt*] \*consuerunt 2 \*abs te] *abste* 4 \*cogi-  
tetis] *cogitatis* 9 \*tentatur] *temptatur* \*ii] *hi, ita ter* 10 \*prae-  
ter] *preter* 12 \*dicit is] *dicitis* 17 \*restat] *restat* 20 \*audaciam]  
audacias 22 \*fuit] *sup. lin. add.* 26 \*aequum] *||equum* 28 omnibus  
suis] \*suis omnibus 31 \*fautor] *fau tor (ita 68. 32)* \*tum hoc] *tu hoc*  
34. 4 *posteaquam*] \*postea quam 8 *exsultare*] \*exultare  
13 Roscii] \*Rosci 17 \*quod sciam] *inest* 21 \*rusticae] *rustice*  
22 *Pallacinas*] *inest* 26 *affinem*] *ad finem*  
35. 4 *cisiis*] \*cissis 12 *perfacile*] *per facile* 13 *rusticum*]  
\*rus 14 \*societas] *sociaetas* 15 *nulla iam proscritionis mentio*] *iam*  
*proscritionis mentio nulla* 19 *omnes*] \*omnis 21 *emuntur*] *emuntur*  
*sesertiorum* \*milibus] *millibus* 22 \*imprudente] *in prudente* \*L.]  
*Lucio certo*] \*certe 23 \*sunt et ea] *inest* \*simul atque] *simulatque*  
*(ita, § 60)*  
36. 7 \*qui] *om.* \*servum] *seruom* 9 *perditum*] \*praeditum  
11 *eiicit*] \*eiecit *disque*] \*diisque \*iudices exturbat] *iudices sex. turbat*  
13 *aliena*] \*alienam 17 \*simul ante] *simulante* 20 \*sepulchrum]  
*sepulcrum* 21 *ardere illa*] \*ardere 22 \*Sex. Roscii] *Sexti Roscii*  
27 \*DECRETUM DECURIONUM] *DECRETVM DECVR.* 28 *id quod*] \*ut quod  
29 \*imprudente] *inprudente*  
37. 1 \*allegat iis] *allegatus* 2 \*vellent esse] *vellent se* 5 \*con-  
firmaret] *confirmarent* 6 \*praedia] *predia* 7 *appromitteret*] \*adpro-  
mitteret 8 *re inorata*] *remorata* 9 \*quotidie] *cotidiae* 11 \*Sex.]  
*Sexti* 12 \*obtinere] *optinere* \*simul atque] *simulatque* 13 \*sen-  
tentia] *sententiam* 14 \*Caeciliam, Nepotis filiam] *inest* 15 *qua*]  
\*quam *usus est*] \*usus erat \*etiam nunc] *etiam num* 17 \*atque]  
*adque* 19 *hospitique*] *hospicio quae* 21 \*referretur] *referetur*  
22 \*Sex. Roscii] *Sexti Rosci* 23 *ceperunt*] \*caeperunt 25 *posset*]  
\*possit 27 *tam diu*] \*tamdiu 28 \*condemnari] *condempnari*  
29 \*patronos] *patronus* \*Chrysogoni] *Chris- pr. scr.*  
38. 7 \*immort.] *inmort.* 11 *appetita*] \*adpetita *(ita 43. 10, 55. 14, 67.*
33. 19 *vobis om.* 20 *et illius*  
34. 24 *est suspiciosum adhuc* 26 *adfinem*  
35. 7 *quatriduo* 9 *Tyberim* 18 *predia* 21 *emuntur sestertiorum*  
36. 4 *eius om.* 24 *sese ac*  
37. 4 *de iis* 8 *re morata* 18 *latronem* 19 *hominibus* *hospicioque*  
38. 7 *quaerar* 14 *conditionem*



35, 68. 6, 69. 10) \*abesse] ab esse 14 optet] \*optetur 15 \*Roscio]  
*inest* (*sine* T.) culleum] \*culleum supplicium parricidarum dedecus] \*decus  
 16 dicat] \*dicant 17 defendat] \*defendant est] \*om. non] \*quoniam  
 quidem suscepi, non 18 \*suscipienda] suspicienda 20 mihi minae]  
 \*minae \*impendeant] impediunt \*succurrat] asuccurrat atque] \*ac  
 21 \*deliberatumque quae] deliberatum queque 23 existet] \*existat \*pos-  
 sit] possim 24 \*etenim] et enim, *ita saepe* 25 \*neglig.] neglig.  
 26 rettulistis] \*retulistis 27 \*per vim] parum: *mg. al.* paruum

39. 2 C.] \*G \*quoque] qui 3 \*C. Marii] <sup>C.</sup>Marii \*ut] *om.*  
 4 \*Q.] que: *mg. al. q.* 7 \*postea quam] postea q̄m q̄n 12 cives]  
 occisus adflixerit] afflixerit 13 servare per compositionem] per conservare  
 positionem 14 Fimbriano] Fimbria non 16 \*Scaevola] Scevola  
 17 num est ferendum] non est feferendum 18 \*immort.] inmort.  
 19 \*opere] pede 22 de] \*om. 23 \*intellig.] intelleg. 26 \*accu-  
 sator Erucius] accusatore rucius \*audaciae] audacie 27 Chrysogonus]  
 Chrysogonus

40. 3 eius modi] \*eiusmodi (*ita saepe*) 4 \*primo] plurimo exting.]  
 \*exting. 5 \*scalestum] scaelestum \*immort.] inmort. 8 vultu]  
 \*vultu \*laeditur] leditur \*supplicium] suplicium (*ita* 41. 13, 25, 48. 23, 28,  
 49. 11) 11 exstitit] extitit 12 \*prodigii] prodigiis C. Eruci] *teg*  
*eruci* 15 \*et denique] *inest* 18 \*adolesc.] adulesc. 20 \*saepe]  
 sepe \*caede] cede 21 luxuries] \*luxories luxuriae] luxoriae  
 24 \*unquam] umquam (*ita semper*) 27 a cupiditate est] \*cupiditate con-  
 iuncta] \*om. 31 placebat] \*patri non placebat *add. m. 1 in mg.* \*esse  
 patri a] et se patria \*veri simile] verisimile

41. 8 \*praedia] predia (*sed plerumque* praedia) \*relegarat] relegavit  
 9 \*nugatoriaque] nugatoria quae \*confirmaret] confirmare \*ratione] oratione  
 14 familias] \*familiae 17 \*operae] opere 18 an amandarat]  
 anamandarat \*sic ut] sicut 20 \*sed] et \*vivo] vivo || 21 vita  
 a te] \*attente vita et 23 atque a] \*atque \*reprehendis] reprehendis  
 24 \*factum] factum || 26 quod arguas] \*quid arguas 30 \*haberet]  
 haberet et 32 \*exprobrandi] exprobandi 33 \*certo] certe: *mg.*  
*al. certo*

39. 12 ciues suos afflixerit 13 servare per cos. repositionem 14 Fimbriae non  
 17 non est ferendum 21 facillime  
 40. 3 perniciosam 5 dii 10 postulare 12 te C. Ericii 22 nimirum *om.*  
 23 luxoria 31 si hoc  
 41. 7 haberes 10 usu mihi 11 tam] causa 12 Erici, *ita semper* 17  
 prediis 18 an mandarat 24 benivolentia 26 intellegis

42. 1 \*esses] esset                    3 ecquid] \*quid                    5 Chaerestratum] caere  
stratum                    7 \*abis] ab is                    9 tribules] \*tribulis                    10 agricolas]  
\*agriculos                    adsiduos] \*assiduos                    11 ii] \*hi                    \*nominari] nominare  
13 adol.] adul.                    14 Veienti] \*veientem                    \*nominem] nomine                    16 nos-  
trae] \*nostram                    \*quotid.] cotid. *ita semper*                    \*videremus] viderimus                    17 \*Um-  
bria] Umbra                    18 familias] \*familiis                    20 \*ac non] *inest*                    23 quod  
ad] quod                    \*tu probro] supprobo                    26 \*intellig.] intelleg.                    his] hiis  
28 \*callidior es] callidiores                    30 \*tametsi] tam et si                    31 feret] \*ferret

43. 1 \*maxime] maximae                    4 \*natus] natus || ||                    7 \*iudicares]  
iudicare                    15 \*clarissimique] clarissimi quae                    16 \*operae] opere  
17 consumpserint] \*consumpserunt                    18 adsiduus] \*assiduos                    23 \*in-  
quit] inquit                    \*perraro] errario                    28 \*neque reuocaturus] *neque rouocaturus*  
30 \*reperiri] reperiri                    31 \*quaerere] querere

44. 3 \*eiiceret] eieceret                    4 \*huiusce] huiusce || ||                    6 \*illum]  
*inest*                    8 \*potes dicere] potes se dicere                    10 \*illudere] inludere, *sed*  
illud- l. 21                    11 \*exheredavitne? Non. Quis] exheredavitneñ quis  
cogitabat] \*cogitabat. Cogitabat                    13 \*maiestate] <sup>1</sup>maestate                    \*quaestum]  
questum                    19 Remmiam] rem miam                    25 possit] \*possim                    26 \*ca-  
lumniari] <sup>o</sup>calumniari                    30 \*Capitolio] Capitulio                    32 si qui] \*siqui

45. 1 deos] \*deo                    2 iis crura] *iis* crura                    \*acres sint] *m. 2 in lac.*  
3 \*alii vestrum] *m. 2 in lac.*                    8 \*commisise in] commisissem                    10 quo  
modo] \*quomodo                    12 Kal. omnes] \*calomnis                    13 affigent] adfingent  
15 \*defendendum] de fendendum                    16 \*ne] neque                    18 deliberarit]  
\*deliberavit                    19 \*accusas] accusa                    21 illud] \*illum                    26 operae  
pretium] opere praetium                    \*neglig.] neglig.                    28 \*quaesisse] quesisset

46. 2 pupugisset] \*pepugisset                    4 \*civitate] ciuitatem                    8 fefelle-  
runt] \*fefellerint                    12 aut confitere te] \*confitere                    14 \*reddita] <sup>d</sup>redita  
16 \*et iam] etiam                    maxime] \*id maxime                    17 \*quae causa] que causã  
25 exstent oportet] extento portet

47. 1 Caelium] \*Cloelium *m. 2 in lac.*                    2 \*Tarracinensem] Terra-  
cinensem                    3 \*conclave] cum clauē                    4 reperiretur] \*reperiebatur

42. 4 Cerestratum                    18 in iis                    23 quo ad                    26 rustis  
43. 5 Actilium                    6 convenerunt] tenuerunt                    14 intelligent                    26 opidum  
29 cepimus                    32 omnis  
44. 3 eiceret                    13 atque libidinem                    19 Remmiam] rem miram  
45. 2 his                    4 non *om.*                    5 nobis                    13 affigent                    19 hoc *om.*  
26 operae precium                    31 cepit venerit                    35 caepi                    36 aças  
46. 16 crebra] acerba                    25 extent oportet

- 7 tam esse] *sa est* neutrum ne] \*autem neutrumne 13 \*sunt] sint  
 15 potuisset] potuisse || 20 \*scelere] scaelere *pr. scr.* 23 elui] \*leui  
 25 saepenumero] saepe numero 26 \*impie] impiac  
 48. 3 \*hae] *inest* adsid.] \*assid. 4 parentum] \*parentium  
 7 adol.] adul. sumptus] sumtus: *mg. al. sūtiius* 8 \*dedecore] <sup>do</sup>decore  
 \*prorupta] *inest* 11 \*animadversionis] animaduersionis 13 \*quo minus]  
 quominus 18 praestiterint] \*praestiterunt 22 \*scripserit] scrib-  
 serit 27 \*intellig.] intelleg. 29 \*potuisset] potuisset in 30  
 a maleficio] \*maleficio 33 \*necasset] negasset 34 esset] \*est et  
 49. 2 \*quae] *om.* 9 \*iactantur] iactantur ut eorum ossa terra non tangat  
 ita iactantur adluantur] \*abluantur 12 \*si ne] sine 14 \*praeesset]  
 pre esset \*paratiusque] paratusque 16 suscipi] \*suspici 17 \*intel-  
 ligunt] intelleguntur 19 \*vicisse] vicesse 23 \*sic] sic \*mco]  
 in eo 24 \*tibi] tibi tibi 27 \*quaero] quero quos: *mg. al. quae si*  
 liberos] \**om.* 28 \*indidemne Ameria] *m. 2 in lac. Ameria]* \*Ameriae ii]  
 \*hi 29 \*cur non] quur Roma] \*Romae \*quicum locutus] qui cum locutus  
 50. 4 oppido] opido 6 \*arido] arrido 9 \*luxuries creatur]  
 luxories creator luxurie] luxoriae existat] \*existat 12 \*quaero] quero  
 13 qui] \**om.* 15 suspic.] suspit. *ita l. 16 et p. 69.* 7 18 arcessivit]  
 arcessi vita 19 quem aut] aut 24 pollicentur] \*polliceantur 25  
 \*administer] *inest* 26 \*appello] <sup>p</sup>apello 27 M.] \**om.* 28 \*quaest.]  
 quest. (*sed 51. 3 quaest.*) 29 meministisne T. Roscium] \*meministine  
 T. Rosci ii] \*hi 30 \*sectantur] sextantur ex iis] *inest*  
 51. 1 \*eone qui] eone quid? 2 in insidiis] \*insidiis 4 \*caede]  
 cede: *ita mox* 8 \*post] post || || 13 convenire] \*conueniret 15  
 \*quo] *mg. al. quos* 17 \*multis annis] *mg. al. multisanus* 22 \*tandem]  
 tamen confugit] \*confugerit 24 interim] \**inest* 27 \*vulgo] vulgo  
 (*l. 23 vulgo*) \*occidebantur] <sup>o</sup>ccidebantur 28 \*adductum] aductum  
 29 \*ii] hi 30 \*concurabant] concurabant 34 nescivit] \*nesciret  
 52. 1 \*tute] tu te, *ita p. 55.* 21 4 \*dissoluta] disoluta exspect.] expect.  
 8 pertinebant] \*pertinebat quoniam] quō: *mg. al. qm̄* 9 \*verbo satis]
47. 7 tam esse] sane 9 adulescentes 11 hostio 20 usquam  
 48. 7 adolescentis sumptu||us 28 parricidiis cogitauerunt 29 paenae  
 30 summoueretur  
 49. 7 littus animum 8 quaeant 20 cederem 31 praetium  
 50. 4 opido 6 uicto 9 ex luxoria 10 ac] et 13 fuit 15 falsa]  
 flagitia suspicione 18 arcessunt 19 quem aut] at 25 omnis 31 ex his  
 51. 7 ex his 21 intellegas 25 profundere 27 volgo  
 52. 4 expectatis 8 quoniam] cum 10 nos quoque

<sup>verbo</sup>  
 satis 17 \*scrutari] scrutari ibi] \*ubi 20 unumquidque] \*unum-  
 quodque 21 persequar] \*prosequar 24 \*esse] esse || || profiteris]  
 \*profitearis 28 \*identidem] idem tidem, *ita p.* 59. 21 31 \*ii] hi  
 \*implicatus] *inest*

53. 3 \*vel] ve nunc ii] nuncii 7 perspicuo] \*perspicuum 11  
 causa] \*om. \*adduxerit] *inest* 17 \*os tuum] ostium 21 men-  
 dicitas, is] mendicitatis 23 quaestum] \*questum 26 reformidet]  
 \*reformidat 29 \*tanta si nanctus esses] *tantas in anctus esses*

54. 2 \*arrog] adrogo 4 patronorum] \*paternorum grege]  
 \*gregem \*adnumerer] admunerer \*Cannensis] Canensis 5 Trasume-  
 num] *trahasyemnum* 7 omnes] \*omnis 14 \*imprudentibus] in pru-  
 dentibus 16 tamquam] tanquam offusa rei publicae] offus are publica  
 25 \*leviter] *mg. add. m. 2*

55. 1 unam quamque] \*unamquamque, *ita p.* 63. 23 4 ecquae] \*et  
 quae \*suscipiendi] suspiciendi 5 tu T.] ut 6 \*nunc] non 10  
 quoque facultates] \*facultates quoque 12 \*quae] que 15 \*sin eos  
 quos qui] sine os trios qui 16 \*vocant] vocantur 21 \*agricola]  
 agricula 26 \*te ipsum] teipsum 30 \*sicut] sic ut 33 cuicumodi  
 cs T.] \*quiqui modi est 35 \*immuto] sim mutuo

56. 1 \*tene cum ceteri socii tui] *tene quin ceteri socii tui* 4 \*re] *om.*  
 6 \*impudentia] imprudentia quis] \*qui 11 quaeso] \*quasi 15 T.  
 Roscio] || Roscio primo] \*primum 16 \*Roscii domus] *Rosciidomus*  
 20 \*celeritas] caeleritas 21 \*quaero] quero 26 \*fac] fax \*audisse]  
 audisset 28 \*premebat] praemebat \*iter] *m. 2 in lac.* 29 etiamne]  
 \*etiam ne 30 est] \*sit 35 Automedontem] *Automedontem*

57. 4 infames eius] \*infamius 5 lemniscatam] *m. 2 in lac.* \*Roma  
 ei] \*Romae 9 quae si] \*qui si 11 \*aiunt] agiunt: *mg. aiunt* 12  
 minitatum] mentatum 14 exspect.] \*expect. \*honestam] *mg. al.*  
 honestatem \*libentibus animis] *mg. ad eiusmodi ut libentius animis* 16  
 nos istorum] nonsistorum 19 si] \*om. 21 \*scelus] scaelus poneret]  
 \*ponerent \*dis immortal.] diis inmort. 24 ita] \*itaque 25 \*Afri-

52. 19 arguatur 23 est *om.* Titi 27 illae 31 abhorrebant  
 53. 3 nuntii 8 predam 12 quaeat 21 mendicitas quae 25 is propter  
 54. 5 Trasimenum 16 offusa re p.  
 55. 5. tu T.] tu 18 facillime 30 strictim sicut] scriptum sit ut  
 56. 7 Manlius 35 Automedontem  
 57. 2 et] ex 5 lemnis catam 12 meditatum 14 o vitam] o iustam  
 16 nos *om.* 17 cecos

canus] Affricanus *pr. scr.* 26 \*suo cognomine] *suo cognomine* \*subegisse] subegisset 30 \*caede] cede \*est is] estis

58. 2 \*quaeritur] queritur vir optime? ecquid] vir <sup>1</sup>omptume <sup>1</sup>ecquid  
3 \*ausculta] aufsculta 4 \*scelcrate] scaelcrate audaciter] \*audacter  
5 istic sedere] \*isti credere 15 veneant] \*veniant \*norat] erat 18  
\*auditis] audistis 20 \*suspicionem hoc putetis] *inest* 23 veteres] \*veteris  
24 omnes] \*omnis 28 indicii] *iudiciuae* cernetis] cernentes 29  
quis] \*qui

59. 1 \*praeterea] <sup>a</sup>pretea 2 \*ii] hi 3 \*praedae] praede  
5 operae pretium] opere praecium 6 a] \*om. 7 iis] *inest* 9 \*quae  
reliqua] quaereli qua 13 \*Capito] Capito || || 14 \*tam] *mg. add.*  
15 eius scelus] \*eiusce vis 16 \*eum iudicatote] *eium iudicato te* 17  
\*quo minus] quominus \*his] hiis 20 acuere] \*ac vere 23 \*de-  
pəcisci] depacisci *pr. scr.* 24 fretus mora] *fretumora* omnes] omnis  
28 rettulerunt] \*retulerunt \*privatis rebus] *privatis rez (in f. l.)* rebus 30  
\*neglig.] *negleg.* 31 \*constitutum] *constitutum* 33 \*in his operae  
nostrae] *in iis* opere nostrae 34 \*oppugnat] oppugmate \*praesidium]  
<sup>a</sup>presidium

60. 1 \*possumus] possum \*per nos] pernos 3 \*mutuis] *m. 2 in lac.*  
12 \*laesus] lesus 15 \*concreditae] *concredatae inopia vivum] \*om.*  
\*affec.] *adfec. (ita l. 22)* \*neglig.] *negleg.* 17 mandati in crimen] \*in  
crimen mandati vocatur] *in fama revocatur* 19 \*non illum] non || || illum  
\*publice] *publicae* 24 \*inque] *in qua* 25 illeque] \*ille qui  
30 paulum] \*paululum

61. 4 maleficio nullum fingi] \*fingi maleficio nullum 6 \*aeque-  
que] *aequae que* 9 \*laeditur] *leditur* 10 difficillime] *difficilime*  
11 intimi] *intumi* 15 \*tametsi] *tamet si* \*tamen] *mg. add.* 18 \*qui  
de] *quid* 19 \*suspitari] *suspitari<sup>eius</sup>* 22 perfuga] *per fuga* 24 coit]  
\*coit \*ac minatur] *ac . . minatur* 30 \*promptum] *prumptum*  
31 \*constant] *inest*

57. 28 uide  
58. 2 et quid tu, vir optime, habes 21 Roscium 24-25 ac se . . . contulerunt *om.*  
28 indicie cernitis 29 Crysogonus  
59. 2 predam 5 opereprecium 8 quur 16 est *om.* 17 Sylla  
24 fretum ora 34 comune  
60. 2 iccirco 12 amicitiam] *amici tam* 17 infamia reuocatur 18 si recte]  
quod recte 21 ceremoniam  
61. 5 sese] *se* 10 difficilime 11 intemi *socium om.* 12 ledimus  
23 consiliis 24 preliis

62. 1 illorum] \*de illorum 2 gladio recessisse] \*gladiatore cessisse  
 hic discipulus] is discipulis 7 \*quaest.] quest. 8 \*iine] hi ne  
 9 \*postulabant] p<sup>u</sup>stulabant is te] \*iste 12 quidquid] \*quicquid  
 16 \*quae cum ita] quae... ita 17 \*abs te] abste 22 \*de servis]  
 defectus \*iniquum] iniquom ne quaeritur] \*ne queritur 23 \*neque  
 enim cum de hoc quaeritur] *inest* 24 in dominos quaeritur] \*om.

63. 3 \*rusticani] *m. 2 in lac.* 4 \*adamarit] aclamarit: *mg. al. ada-*  
 6 \*quod quo] quod 8 suine] tuine 10 \*ego] eo 11 \*mihi  
 nunc] mihi nunc mihi 12 \*causam] in causam 18 facta est] \*facta  
 sit 19 cupere verum] cupere. Verum inveniri] \*inuenire \*qui] quid  
 27 \*coniecturaeque committo] coniectureque comitto 28 \*Chryso.] Chryso-  
*pr. scr. ita fere semper ex hoc loco* 29 latuui] \*statuit 33 \*habet ut]  
 habet ut 35 emptor est] \*emptorē \*primum] primūm 36 \*veni-  
 erunt] v<sup>1</sup>enerunt

64. 2 \*ac libere] ac || libere 3 hoc] ego hoc \*potuerunt] potuerint  
 6 \*ut eorum] ut e<sup>ut</sup>orum 7 veneant] \*veniant 10 recessum est]  
 \*recesserunt si] \*om. 11 sin autem] \*sinautem 12 veteres]  
 \*veteris 16 \*ementiretur] ementeretur 18 his de] \*hisce a legatis]  
 alegatis 21 \*proscripti] proscript. *pr. scr.*

65. 1 reduviam curem] redii viam cure 4 \*quaeso] queso 5 pro  
 Sex.] \*Sex. 7 omnes] \*omnis ex animi] \*et animi 8 \*vitae casum  
 causamque] *inest* 11 \*quaero] quero 12 \*quare] *queris: mg. al.*  
 quare neque proscriptus] \*om. 13 venierint] *venierūt* \*cum in eos] *inest*  
 15 \*quae dies] quae || dies 16 \*liberti nequam] libertini quam 19 Sulla]  
*Sylla ex Silla corr.* 20 Iuppiter] Iup<sup>p</sup>iter 22 \*immod.] inmod. 24 per-  
 nicii] \*pernicie 25 \*at] *m. 2 in lac.* commoda quibus] commodis (*in fin.*  
*pag.*) a quibus 26 \*spiritumque quem] spiritum quemque \*impertiri]  
 impartiri 28 \*maiestatem] magestatem 29 receperat] receperat tum  
 \*aliqua] aliquam

66. 1 \*assequi] adsequi 3 cum] *inest* \*maxime] maximae  
 5 \*curavit hoc iudicium] *inest* 6 \*causa accusare se] *m. 2 in lac.* Erucius]  
*sequitur aptam sine lacunae signo* 11 Brutiis] Brutiis 14 referta]

62. 2 his discipulis 5 quoniam] quando cognoscitis 14 cruciatu  
 63. 3 est ita 8 tui 26 suspitionibus cepero 35 Chrysogonum  
 64. 3 hoc] ego 11 omnis 16 faccisse 18 allegatis 20 per vos]  
 per suos licitur erit  
 65. 1 reduviam curae 13 uenierunt 14 uenierunt 20 Iupiter 21 max.  
 25 commodis quibus 29 receperat ut  
 66. 3 cum] *om.* 6 *post Erucius sequitur 9 versuum et 2 pagg. lac., tum aptam*  
 10 existimavit 11 Bructiis 13 amaenum 14 refercta

refert a 15 authepsa] \*aut hepsa \*pretii] praecio 16 quid praeco  
 enumeraret] quid praecoenum numerare 17 \*quid] qui 19 \*e multis]  
 emultis 20 \*coacervari] coecervuari una in domo] una in nemo  
 22 artes vulgares] artis vulgares \*coquos] cocos pistores] \*pictores  
 67. 1 quam] \*om. \*ac devers.] *inest* 2 \*delibuto] dilibuto  
 4 \*etiam videtis, iudices] et invidetis iudices (*in f. l.*) et unum videtis: *mg.*  
 in || m 7 \*ne quis] ne qui is 9 \*ne quis] neque 10 \*existimet]  
 existumet \*ii] hi 13 \*ii] hi \*erat] erat ut 17 \*vehementer-  
 que laetor] vehementer quaelaetur 18 \*omnia deorum] omnia adeorum  
 19 \*Sulla] Syllae 22 \*habitus] habitos 27 isto] \*in isto \*non  
 recreatus] nonne creatus 29 laedetur] leditur 31 \*volunt] volent  
 33 \*improbos] improbos qui] quid 35 decerne modo] decerne . . modo  
 68. 2 \*cogebat] cocebat 4 volent] \*volunt \*recip.] *recup. ex recip.*  
*corr.* 6 \*approb.] adprob. quidquam] \*quicquam 7 ominis]  
 \*hominis 8 nobiles] \*nobilis 13 \*miserumque] miserum quae  
 \*equestrem] aequestrem 15 \*quae quidem] quaequidem 16 quod]  
 \*et quod 18 hicine] \*hicne 19 \*hic etiam] hic . . etiam vult. O  
 rem] vultorem 20 \*mehercules] me hercules \*ne quid] nequid  
 21 \*ausus] ausum posse] \*om. 22 experrecta] expectata 24 servu-  
 lique] \*seruolique fortunasque nostras] fortunas vestrasque nostras 26 \*in-  
 sanisse] insanisse 27 \*sin autem] sinautem 28 \*cuique meam] cui  
 quem eam 29 quod si quis] \*quod siquis 31 probe] \*prope non  
 69. 2 Sex.] \*sed 10 \*optima] *optima* \*annumeravit] adnumera-  
 uit \*appendit] adpendit 11 de digito] \*dedit os 12 quidquam]  
 \*quicquam 13 egestate] aegestate 15 est et] \*esset *sup. lin.*  
 16 \*mihi] mi||hi maxima tu uteris] maximat veteris \*servum] sequor  
 22 si metus] \*sin metuis 23 quod] \*om. 25 \*vereri] veri \*debeas]  
 debes 26 \*patria] patri (*in f. l.*) a 27 \*tuae] tue 28 iis] \*his  
 \*quas L.] quasi 30 praeter] \*propter 31 clam reservavit] \*clare  
 servauit \*immortales] immortalis 32 praedo] praedio  
 70. 3 \*nihil] ni||hil, *sed mox nihil bis* audere] laudere 8 Baliarici]  
 \*Baliaris 9 clarissimum patrem] \*patrem clarissimum 14 hospitiiis]  
 66. 16 quid praetium numerare 20 una vi nemo 22 artis vulgares  
 67. 16 retiretur 19 intellego *hoc loco* 21 exitit 22 iccirco, *ita semper*  
 29 laeditur 31 quaeruntur 35 decernere modo  
 68. 1 iudicare 2 potuerat 9 concedat 19 volt o rem 22 quaeror  
 23 reciparit 24 fortunas vestras atque nostras  
 69. 9 tibi *om.* 13 egestatem 16 maxima uteris 32 predo  
 70. 1 pyrata 2 cruenta] eruenda

*hospitis	17 *tentatur] temptatur	18 *mehercule] me hercule
20 *transiguntur] transiguntur	21 *iudicique] iudicii quae	M.] *om.
22 *pro] om.	26 *iudicum] iudicium	28 ut ii] *uti
terent] resisterent	*salute] salutem	32 nati sunt] *nati sint
71. 2 *si ille] <sup>si</sup> ille	5 crudelitati] *crudelitate	sanguis] *sanguinis
praebitus] *praeditus	6 eadem quae] *eademque	9 re publica] rem p.
*reddit] inest	11 *imman.] inman.	13 *condemn.] condemn.
15 *colloc.] conloc.	16 *acie] aciae	17 *tales] talis
20 intelligitis] intellegitis	22 *dubium est] inest	26 *numquid]
nunquid	28 eam ad rem] eadem rem	30 immortal.] inmort., ita 72. 1
32 ne quid] nequid	33 est] om.	35 incunabula] in cunabula
72. 5 quin] qui	6 hostes] hostis	8 quae] que

*Subscriptione caret spatium 2/3 versuum vacuo relicto in calce paginae*

71. 9 r. p.	18 manibus om.	20 intellegitis	28 eadem esse
72. 3 in voc.	aucto deficit A	2 paginae vacuis relictis	

## PRO MURENA

*In mg. litt. min. pro Murena.*

716. 1 quae precatus] \*quae deprecatus a] *mg. al.* \*ab \*immortalibus] immortalibus (*ita* 717. 3, 11, 13, 746. 10, 749. 16, 750. 17) 2 centuriatis] centurinis

717. 1 \*mihi] michi fidei] \*fides 2 \*precor] praecor \*ab isdem] ab hisdem *pr. scr.* 4 populi Romani] P · R : *in mg.* P̄R 5 populoque] populi 6 sollemnis] solemn<sup>1</sup>is 7 precatio] \*praecatio \*habet] hēret 9 precatus] \*praecatus 12 \*translata] tralata vobiscum] \*vobis cum consul eum] \*consul ei 14 populi Romani] \*P. R. 22 dirigenti] \*derigenti 26 \*vehementer] vahaementer \*a me una] *ame* ¶¶¶a 32 iis] \*his 33 \*profecto] profectu \*beneficij] beneci populi Romani] pater : *al. p̄.* *in mg.*

718. 3 potissimum summo] \*potissimo \*affecto] adfecto, *ita semper* 5 e portu] \*portus \*ii] hi 6 praedicere] \*praecipere solent et] \*solent ei 7 fert] adfert 9 \*oportet] o||portet, *ita fere semper*

716. 2 centyris

717. 4 p. R.

6 solemn<sup>1</sup>is

25 saeuero

32 iudicii om.

718. 7 affert ut ei faueamus



13 Kalendis Ianuariis] *m. 2 in lac.* 17 \*mihimet ipsi] michi metipsi  
 tuleram] \*tulerim 20 \*nihil] nihil (*ita saepe, vel nihil*) 22 moenia]  
 menia 23 paene] poene ex urbe] \*et urbe 24 partes] \*artis  
 25 illam] \*illa 26 \*appetivi] adpetiui \*mihi] michi (*ita 719. 16, 741. 29*)  
 \*imperii] ipeii 29 \*vici naturam] vicinaturam

719. 4 \*tuae] tue 7 Servii] Serui accusatio commovebat] catio  
 acōmouebat 8 \*acerbissime] acerbissime ferre se] \*ferme \*necessitu-  
 dinisque] necessitudinis quae 15 abiit] \*abit 17 \*tu a me postulare]  
 tuam epostulare 19 consulatum adfui nunc] \*om. 21 \*alienissimos]  
 alienissimos 23 \*Ser.] Seruius 24 ab eo in] *habed in*  
 25 \*crudelitatisque] crudelitatis quae 26 \*inussisset] iniussisset 27  
 \*suis et] suis set amplissimi] \*amplissumi 30 industria] \*indostria  
 31 \*nemini sic et si ceperis eos] *nemini sic exiceperis eos*

720. 1 esset] esse 2 \*possum si nulla inertiae] *possum si nulla*  
 inertiae \*superbiae turpitude] superbia turpitude 3 \*desino] desinon  
 \*sin autem] sinautem \*haec causa] haec arum 6 quisquam] \*quam  
 \*officiosus] officiosos possit] \*posset facillime] facillume 9 \*exis-  
 timas] existumas 10 \*contra veneris] contraueneris causa] \*causae  
 11 \*putes] putis 13 \*Q.] Quinto \*Crasso] grasso 16 \*nemini] ne mini  
*ex ne nimi* 18 \*quod] *cauod* 20 \*esset] *inest* 23 \*intelligo] intellego:  
*ita fere semper* iudices] \*iud. tres . . . partes] \*tris . . . partis 24 repre-  
 hensione] \*reprehensionē 25 \*tertiam] tertiam \*accusatoria quam] accusa-  
 tori aquam 27 \*illos] *inest* 29 luxuriam] \*luxoriam \*sed in] sed  
 et in 30 adolescens] \*adulescens 31 hostes] \*hostem 32 an]  
 \*aut \*equis] aequis \*potissimum] potissim 34 ne] \*ut triumphare]  
 \*triumphares

721. 1 \*solatio] solacio 2 \*habet Asia] habeta sit luxuriae] \*luxo-  
 riae \*Asiam numquam] Asiam dum quam 4 obiiciendum] \*abiciendum  
 7 populus Romanus] pop. Rm̄ 9 \*ac triumphum] actrium 10 \*hisce  
 rebus] his cerebus 12 L. Murenam] \*fl. Mur. 13 \*vere] vero  
 14 Marce, arripere] \*marre anni ripere 15 \*scurrarum] currarum \*con-  
 vitio neque] conuisione quae 16 populi Romani] P. R.: *mg. al. pR*  
 circumspicere] cumspicere 17 \*cui] qui 18 \*fere saltat] ferre saltas  
 19 convivii] \*conuiui 20 \*multarum] multorum 21 \*illa] ille

718. 13 Kl. Ian. 22 maenia 23 pene 25 saeueritatisque, *ita mox* §  
 719. 2 atque ad] atque 7 Ser. accusatio] captio 24 ab eodem in  
 720. 1 esse et 7 facillime 14 caeteris, *ita semper* extimari 17 existu-  
 marem 34 pene  
 721. 7 p. r. *ita semper* 15 aut scurrarum 16 conspiciere

- 23 \*amor] amoris    commissatio] comisatio    24 \*reperiantur] repperiantur  
 25 \*in quo] iniquo    \*luxuriam] luxoriam    \*potes] potest    luxuriae] luxuriae  
 27 omnino, iudices] \*omnino iudicio    29 \*habet: iacta] habet *iaca*  
 30 \*nondum] non dum    31 \*inimicorum] inimicor    \*hominem] hoc  
 minem    32 \*facilior est] faciliores    34 \*in te] inter  
 722. 1 \*aggredi] adgredi    \*vinci] vince || ||    5 \*facis] facii    plebes]  
*sup. lin. add. m. 2*    \*sevocanda] se vocanda    6 \*videatur] videantur  
 7 et pater] *sequitur* \*etenim mihi (§ 17) . . . profutura (§ 19)    8 \*ex praec-  
 tura] expraetura    \*consulatus] ad consulatus    10 \*tametsi] tam  
 et si    12 \*equestri] equestri    \*illustri] illustri    \*celebratus] caelebratus  
 15 \*aggregare] adgregare    \*perfecisti] *sup. lin. add. m. 2*    16 Romani]  
 \*R.    17 \*Q. Quinto    18 \*quam in] *m. 2 in lac.*    19 \*atque] et  
 quae: *mg.* atque    20 \*acceperit] acceperit    23 \*meo] in eo  
 24-25 Pompeius . . . Caeliis (Coeliis)] *m. 2 in lac.*    \*iacebant] iacebant  
 26 \*cum vero] tum vero    27 \*posthac] post hac    \*nobilitati] nobilitatis  
 28 \*pateret] pater et    29 \*Romani] Romanis    30 \*mihi] mi||hi  
 32 \*superavi tamen] superavi *ame*    \*dignitate] dignitatē    \*Catilinam] Catilinam  
 (*ita saepe*)    33 \*gratia] gratiam  
 723. 3 pares] pare    possit] \*posset    \*obtinere] optinere    6 mo-  
 mento sortis] momentus ortis    8 \*illustrem] inlustrem    9 \*et  
 molestam] etiam lestam    \*quaestura] quaesturam    11 \*temporis] tempori  
 14 \*secutus] setus    16 \*arrogantiam] adrogantiam    exsorbuit] \*exorbuit  
 17 \*laus] laus    20 \*manum conseruit] *bis scr. m. 1: corr. m. 2.*  
 21 \*fudit] fundit    22 refertam] \*repertam    obiit] \*obit    23 luxuriae]  
 \*luxoriae    26 loquor] \*loquar    28 huic] \*om.    31 \*pari atque]  
 pariatque    32 \*assiduitatis] assiduitatis, *ita mox*    \*quotidianarum] con-  
 dianarum  
 724. 1 \*mihi] mihi *m. 1: mihi mihi m. 2*    \*inquit] inquit    \*forum] eorum  
 \*attigeris] attiteris    afueris] afuerit    2 et cum] \*ut cum    6 item]  
 \*idem    7 \*obfuisset] offuisset    \*omisso] comisso    8 \*artium] artium  
 potes] \*potest    10 \*de nocte] <sup>de</sup> nocte    11 \*perveniat] perueniāt  
 13 \*consultores] consultu res    14 \*copiae] copie    15 tu in] tu quin  
 17 \*praestat] P. R. stat: *mg. pñ.*    populo Romano] P. R.: *mg. pñ.*  
 18 \*orbem] urbem    20 \*laus] laus    \*praesidio] praesidiae    21 \*simul  
 721. 23 commessatio    25 luxoriae  
 722. 5 plebs    7 praetor] pr.  
 723. 3 pari    6 momentu sortis    8 hostiensem    12 dissimilima    14 soli-  
 tudinis  
 724. 1 abfueris    15 tuque in    21 conticescunt

atque] simulat quae \*artes illico] aries silico conticiscunt] *inest*  
 22 \*istam scientiam iuris] istam *icientia* iuris 24 \*arbitrere] arbitrare  
 29 \*disciplina munitam] disciplinā unitam omnes] \*omnis

725. 1 populi Romani] P. R.: *mg. p̄* concilient] \*conciliant 3 \*iis]  
 his 6 \*gravis] *rauis* 9 numquam] \*nunquam 10 largitioni]  
 \*largitione 12 \*praesertim] presertim 16 \*occupatae] occupate  
 17 fuit . . . enuntiatis] fuit *inistros duo ad miserationis i denuntiatis* \*vestris  
 mysteriis] vestris *musteris* 18 \*necne] nec ne 19 vulgo] \*volgo  
 21 Chaldaeis] \*Chaldeis petebantur] \*petebatur \*Flavius] *seq. 4 litt. spatium*  
 22 ediscendis] elicendis 23 capsis] \*causis consultorum] \*consultis  
 eorum \*compilarit] cōpi larit 24 \*irati illi] *m. 2 in lac.* promulgata]  
 \*peruolgata 25 agi] \*om. posset] \*possit verba quaedam] \*vero  
 acaedam 26 \*cedo] *seq. 3 litt. spatium* 29 iure Quiritium]  
 \*iureque aio] \*aios

726. 1 \*quid tum] qui tum manum] \*manu 2 litigioso] \*liti-  
 giosum 4 manum] \*manu praetor] \*praeter 5 \*pulchrum]  
 pulcrum 8 ite] \*inite 9 barbato] \*barbaros 10 \*ridicula] redigula  
 videbantur] rudebantur 12 fucata] \*fugata conspicio] \*conspicios  
 13 tu dicis] tudiciis qua ex] \*qui 14 \*eis] eiis promulgata] \*peruolgata  
 16 \*autem et] *autem<sup>et</sup>* 17 \*praeclare] per clare \*consultorum] constultorum  
 18 omnes] \*omnis 21 interimendorum] \*interemendorum 23 quia ]  
 \*cuiā \*in alicuius] mali cuius

727. 1 putarunt] \*putarent 5 \*dici oporteret] dicio portare  
 6 \*commenticiis] *m. 2 in lac.* 7 minus] \*minores 9 \*beneficii collo-  
 candi] benefici collocandis 13 omnes] \*homines 15 \*litteris] *l*iteris  
 17 \*de scripto] descripto 21 controversum] \*contrauersum 24 ante-  
 cellit] \*antecellet \*mihi] michi 25 \*assequi non] ad se quin  
 26 \*sunt delapsi] est de lapsi \*Graecis] Grecis (*ita* § 31) 30 \*etenim] et  
 enim (*ita saepe*) \*iis] is 31 dicendo] dicendo

728. 1 \*parcius] partius \*dicerem] dicere 2 \*iis] is \*qui] que  
 3 sunt] \*sint \*artes] *seq. 4 litt. spat. (fort. artes a m. 2 est)* 6 ceterae . . .  
 ipsae] cetera . . . ipse 7 intelligunt] \*intellegant \*nunc] *non* nunc  
 8 ad honorem dispositis] ab honorem depositis 10 novus] \*nouos

725. 8 et oratione 14 isto nostro 15 prope *om.* 17 fuit inis tros duo  
 admiserationis id enuntiatis 22 eliscendis 29 eum ego] cum ego

726. 1 ibi *om.* 5 interea ne] interane 10 ridebantur 11 ut inde  
 13 tu dicis 15 atque excussa

727. 10 licet] libet 20 videre] iudicare 30 a nobis 31 dicuntur

728. 6 caeterae . . . ipse 10 caepit

\*ingeniosus] ingencosus \*poeta] paetae 11 \*et auctor valde bonus] *mg.*  
*add.* pellitur] bellitur \*e medio] emedio 12 \*prudenciae] prudentie  
 13 vi geritur res spernitur] videtur re spernitur 14 \*loquax] locuax  
 16 \*cedat] cedato \*Sulpici] *inest* 17 \*castris otium] castri socium  
 \*gladio] gradio 19 \*nos nostris] vos nostris 23 \*contempnenda]  
 contempnenda 24 \*Pyrrho] Pyrho T. Flaminini] Titi Flamini  
 25 \*de Aetolis] <sup>do</sup>Aetolis \*M. Fulvii de rege Perse] M. de fulvies recte per se  
 25-26 \*L. Pauli . . . Mummii] L. pauli de *pseudo philippoque metelli de*  
*corinthis l. nummi* sin] \*si 27 gratissimae] grauissime aequiparata] si  
 qua partha

729. 1 \*Africa] Affrica \*prae se] praesen 2 \*assumpsit] adsumsit  
 \*egregia M.] egregiam 4 statuo] \*statuam 5 \*profectus si] profectum  
 6 \*Africano] Affricano *pr. scr.* 7 \*Hannibale] Hannibalem \*Africa]  
 aspica Karthagine] \*Carthagine 8 \*grave] grauem 9 \*Mithridates]  
 Mithridates 10 omnibus regibus quibuscum] omnibus quibus regibus cum  
 11 \*regem] *inest* 12 Sulla] \*Sylla pugnax et acer et] pugna exetaceret  
 14 bello] \*bellum 16 qui rex] \*quid rex 17 spe] \*ipse 18 Ser-  
 torii] \*Sertori 19 \*ad quod] ad quo<sup>d</sup> Mithridatem] Mithrydate non  
 20 \*Bithyniam] Bithuniam \*et terra] ei terra 21 \*et nomen] nomen  
 24 Cyzicenorum] \*Cizicenorum constitisset] \*extitisset 25 revulsa] reuulsa  
 730. 1 ab] \*a 2 et omnes] \*ut omnes 3 ad Tenedum] \*attened  
 4 \*classis] clasis 5 \*peteret] petereg 6 proelia] \*praelia, *ita mox*  
 \*oppugnationes] opugnationes \*oppidorum] <sup>p</sup>opidorum 9 \*esset nostri]  
 esse ii nostri \*imperatorisque] imperatoris quae 10 \*possem] posse  
 12 \*senatus] se senatus 13 gessisset] \*cessisset L. Lucullus] \*L.  
 14 populus Romanus] p. R.: *mg. p̄r* 16 \*vel] valde 20 ipse] \*ipso  
 \*notis] noctis 21 omnia quae ille] \*ille omnia quae 24 quocum]  
 \*quo cum 25 \*eiectione] eiectione \*tanti] *om.* aestimata] \*existimata  
 31 \*praeturae] praetura \*syngrapha] yngrapha

731. 1 \*semel] gemel 2 quem Euripum] quod *euripum* 3 agi-  
 tationes] agitationes quae 4 aestus] \*estus 6 commutat aura rumoris]  
 commutata vestrarum mores fit] \*sit 7 \*atque] *mg. al.* adque numquam]

728. 11 tollitur 13 uidetur respicitur 20 mulieribus 24 T. Flaminii  
 26 grauissimi 27 grauissimae si qua partha

729. 10 omnibus quibuscum regibus 12 pugna excitaret 19 Mithridatem non  
 23 maiori 24 maenia

730. 3 qui? illam

731. 1 quod Euripum 3 agitationesque 6 commutata aura rumores 7 ut  
 non] non

\*nunquam 8 vulgo] \*volgo 10 \*a M.] A.M. 11 \*quis Q.] quis q3: *mg.*  
*al.* quis q. 12 \*a Cn.] ac non 13 \*a Q.] at Quinto 15 \*intelligi]  
 intellegi: *ita semper* 16 \*caeli signo] caeligno: *mg.* caeli signo \*ex  
 certa] exerta 17 \*obscura aliqua] obscura || liqua 19 \*obscura est]  
 obscura est \*casu] cassum consulatu] consulatum ut tum 21 \*Mu-  
 renae] Muraenae expectatio] expectatio 23 altera] \*om. \*provincia]  
 prouinciam \*omnis] omni 24 decesserant] \*decesserant · exercitum  
 Luculli significat 26 \*Luculli] Luculi comitiis] \*comes

732. 2 \*militum? quae] militumque 4 populum Romanum] pro  
*manum* 5 \*non] in 6 \*interpretes] interpretaetes deliguntur] \*dili-  
 guntur 6-7 \*me ... donavit] *m. 2 in lac.* 8 numquam] \*nunquam  
 \*militi] militis \*sumpsit] sumsit 10 \*comitiis] comitis 14 \*suffra-  
 gationem] suffrationem \*noli] nolle 15 scaenae] scaene \*valde] a valde  
 16 vulgus] \*volgus 22 \*admirere] admirare 23 Otho] \*otito  
 \*necessarius] necessariū 24 \*equestri ordini] sequestri ordine 25  
 \*itaque] ita quae: *mg.* itaque 26 iucunditatis] \*iocunditatis 31  
 \*nullos] nullus \*irrides] inrides ||

733. 1 militari] \*om. \*suffragatio] suffratio 5 conciliat] \*conciliatam  
 offensionem] *inest* vitat aequabilitate] vitata equabilitate 7 benevolentiam]  
 \*beniuolentiam \*adiungit] adiungis \*egregia] egregia 13 Sul-  
 lana] \*Syllana \*pars] pari 14 severe] seuerae aestimatae] aestimate  
 15 \*provinciam] prouincia \*ire nolui] reuoluisti 16 et praetore et]  
 \*et praes. 19 publica] puplica \*multas] multa municipiis] \*municipis  
 20 \*Umbriae] Umbrae ipsa] \*ipse 21 \*exigerent] ex igerent 23  
 \*minui solere in eos] *m. 2 in lac.* 24 intelligant] intellegunt 25  
 quoniam] quō: *mg.* quā 29 \*ipsi soli re] *ipsisolire* saepe] \*sepe  
 30 persaepe] per saepe iis] is

734. 1 \*dicere magis] dicerem agis 4 \*a spe] aspem || 10 prae-  
 sertim] \*presertim, *ita l. 14, sed l. 26* prae- 12 praenuntia repulsae]  
 pronuntiare pulsae: *mg.* prouinciae repulse 13 \*blanditiae] planditiae  
 15 \*vultu] vultu 16 \*tu illum] tum illum 17 \*diffidit] diffidet  
 18 testes] \*testis 19 faciam] \*faci iam eius modi] \*eiusmodi 20  
 totam] \*testam 30 \*praestamus] P. R. stamus: *mg.* pī

731. 8 faecerit 18 comota 19 consulatu tum 21 expectatio 22 ex  
 rumore

732. 4 populum r. 7 caepimus 15 scenae 20 et ab] et

733. 1 urbana 6 offensione uitata acquabilitate 14 sacuere extimatae] 22  
 presto 24 intelligunt 25 quomodo 30 persepe his

734. 12 pronuntia repulsae 33 utrunque

735. 1 posteaquam] \*postea quam 4 \*Calpurnia] Calpurnia  
 10 \*fortunae] fortune 11 poena] \*paena, *sed l. 6 poena valetudinis]*  
 \*valetudinis \*incommodo] in commodo 12 \*haec quis tulit? Is] hec  
*quistolitis* 13 \*cui] cum 16 perrogationem] \*praerogationum  
 17 vicinitatibus] *inest* 18 municipiis] \*municipis 19 idem] \*eidem  
 21 cuiusque] cuius quae \*haec] hec 22 obsaepebant] \*obsepebant  
 24 \*tacente me maxima] tacentememaxime \*copiosissimo] piosissimo 27  
 \*dicendi] dicenti \*M. Crassus] *mg. add.* 29 \*in hisdem] <sup>in</sup> hisdem  
 \*fere] ferre quoad] \*quod 30 satietati] sapietati \*sed] Ser. 31  
 populum Romanum] P. R. : *mg. p̄r*

736. 2 maestos] \*mestos 4 \*certe ipsi] *inest* \*ei videri] *inest*  
 solet] \*solent 5 \*alacrem] autem \*laetum] letum 6 \*inflatum]  
 inflatum \*spe] spem tum] \*om. 7 \*colonorum] collonorum 9  
 \*homines] *mg. add. m. 1* percussi] percūsi Sullani] Sillani 10 \*arro-  
 gantiae] adrogantiae \*sic ut] sicut 13 rei publicae] Rei P. 14  
 \*quantaque] quanta quae 17 percrebruissent] *inest* 20 recuperare]  
 \*reciperare 21 \*quid ipse] quid ipsi 23 \*his] *ex is corr. : mg. his*  
 24 senatus consultum] \*S.C. \*comitia] comiciae 28 \*induit] *m. 2 in lac.*

737. 3 \*quia nihil] qui nihil *pr. scr.* timebant. Atque] timebant. Cue  
*mg. al. que t̄ cur.* 6 si] \*et si 7 esset] \*esse 10 \*praesidio]  
 P. R. Sidio: *in mg. sinistro pr: in dextro praesidio* 11 \*quae] que, *ita*  
*l. 32* 14 factum est] \*est factum 15 \*ab re publica] ab Re P:  
*ita l. 31* 25 reliquus est] est relictus *est* 26 \*iis] is P. Postumio]  
 \*Postumo 28 indicis] iudicis de deprehensis] <sup>de</sup>deprehensis \*adolescenti]  
 aduliscenti 33 et ex] <sup>et</sup>ex 34 \*quotidianis] cotidianis

738. 1 \*improvis] prouissis 2 \*sum animo adfectus] *sumanisho*  
 adfectū parta] \*parata 6 \*amittat] amitat 9 \*non qui]  
*non qui* 10 descenderint] \*descenderent 11 Sulpicium] Sulpici  
 \*iniuria] iuria P. Postumius] \*tum Postumus 14 \*nullam] nullum \*filii]  
*om.* 17 nobis] \*nobilis atque ingenium] \*ut ingenium 18 alienis  
 exitio] alienis *ex] io* 19 inimico] inimico || 25 DE . . . ADOLESCENTIS]  
 De Postumi criminibus deserui adulescent :

735. 6 paena 17 ciuitatibus 21 cuiusque] cuius 30 sapientiae saecurim  
 736. 8 Fessulanorum 9 percussi Syllani 17 percrebuissent 29 esse  
 duo corpora

737. 1 saeuere 3 timebant, cum 25 est relictus 28 indicis de (*ante*  
*depreh. om.*) 33 et (*ante ex om.*)

738. 11 Sulp. 18 alienis exitio] alienissimo 19 inimicus deberet 25 DE  
 . . . ADOLESCENTIS *om.*

739. 1 \*firmamentum] fundamentum 4 \*illud] *inest* 5 ex-  
spectatio] \*expectatio 7 posset] \*possit 9 in eo] \*in 11 populi  
Romani] \*P. R. 12 dignitatem] \*vim dignitatem plurimum] \*plurimam  
14 nimiis] \*nimis adversarii] \*aduersari 15 memoriae est] \*iniuriæ  
17 populus Romanus] p̄r 20 \*afferat] adferat 24 \*descensurum]  
decensurum 28 \*Cato] catu 29 non possum] \*om. non nulla]  
\*nonnulla \*forsitan] forsitam

740. 1 \*conformare et leviter emendare] *conforamre et leuiter aemendare*  
2 sed si] \*sed ego] \*ego non te 3 huius modi] \*huiusmodi 6  
\*iustitiam] iustitia accessit his dotibus] accessitis tot 8 \*patitur] *m. 2 in*  
*lac.* 9 \*haec] hoc \*in imperita] inīperita 11 iucunda] \*iudicanda  
13 numquam] \*nunquam 14 \*a natura] anatura 15 \*sunt] *sup. lin.*  
*add.* 16 \*praecepta] precepta huius modi] \*eiusmodi 18 sapientes]  
\*sapientis \*esse si] esse <sup>si</sup> 19 \*formosos] *formonsus* 23 \*galli-  
naceum] catilinacium 24 \*paenitere] penitere 25 haec homo]  
hoc *homo* 27 \*cave] *seq. 2 litt. spatium*

741. 1 \*peccasse] peccasse \*eius] cui 3 quippiam] \*quippe . iam  
\*re ductus] reductus 7 hominis est] \*hominis sed 8 autem] \*enim  
9 \*illi fatebor] fatebor illi \*adolescencia] adulscientia \*diffisum] diffusum  
14 \*quod] quid 15 numquam] \*nunquam 20 \*nullis] nullus  
21 \*laccensus] necessitus \*pudentissimum] p̄udentissimum 22 \*prae-  
ditum] preditum \*cum in] cum 23 \*custodia] custodiam \*posuisset]  
potuisset \*te cum] tecum 25 \*dixisses] dixisse aut seposuisses] aut  
se posuisse<sup>s</sup> \*interpretare] interpretare 26 \*ac te ipsum] raecte ipsum  
\*opinionē] opinio ne 27 \*naturae] nature 28 \*usus] ussus 29  
ipsi mihi isti] \*isti ipsi mihi 30 fines] \*finis 32 nihil gratiae] \*immo  
gratiae causa cesseris] \*confeceris

742. 1 \*cum] tum 2 \*dissolvenda] disoluenda 3 \*laus] la<sup>us</sup>  
\*permaneto. Vero] permaneto. Vero 4 \*modi] modi odi \*Scipio  
ille] *Scipio ille* 5 \*paenitebat] penitebat \*eruditissimum] erudissimum  
6 Panaetium] \*et pane 8 \*C.] .c̄. \*comior] *m. 2 in lac.* iucundior]  
\*iocundior 10 Philo] \*Philippo 13 \*praestanti] prestanti 14  
\*ad imitandum] ad || mittandum quoniam] \*qui 16 es] \*est unum  
quemque] \*unumquemque 17 \*exemplar] exemplari 18 severi-  
tatiq̄] seueritati quae remove ac] remoue in 24 \*Cato] *m. 2 in lac.*

739. 1 et robur

740. 6 accessit his tot 25 hoc homo

741. 5 consulare 13 paenas 19 enim om. 25 sed seposuisses

742. 2 saeueritate 8 Lelio 11 comodiorem 18 saeueritatie 22 remouc

\*affers] <sup>d</sup>afers 26 \*punierim] *poenierim* \*punivi] *poeniui* \*ambitum  
non] *m. 2 in lac.* \*innocentiam; ambitum] *innocentiam non ambitum. ambitum*  
27 senatus consultum] \*S. C., *ita* 743. 9.

743. 1 \*issent] essent 2 \*vulgo] *volgo, sed l. 1* \*vulgo 3 \*se-  
natus si] *senatum* 5 \*nam] *mg. add. m. 2* \*factum] *fact.* \*si factum] *in*  
*factum* 6 \*ridiculum] *ridiculum est* 10 \*doce ab] *doceat* 12  
\*multi obviam] *multi ouiviam: mg. obviam* \*decedenti, consulatum] *decenti*  
*consulatum* 13 *ecui*] \*etcui 14 \*possum] *possim* 16 *videretur*] \*vide-  
*tur* 19 \*rogati] *rogati* \*hominum] *hominē* 23 *hic*] \*om. 25 \*introire,  
*tota*] *introire . . . tota* 26 \*ista] *istam* 27 \*omitto] *ommitto* *tribules*] \*  
*tribulis totum*] \*motum \*ullius umquam] *ullius sum quam* 30 *secta-*  
*bantur*] \*sectabuntur 32 \*sectatoribus? *A me tu*] *sectatoribus ametui*

744. 2 referendi] \*proferendi 3 adsectationem] *atsectationem*  
4 \*nobis aut] *nobis aut* 5 \*candidatos] *candidatus adsectentur*] \*aut  
*sectentur* 8 \*beneficis] *beneficiis* 10 officii] \*offici 12 \*suf-  
*fragum*] *sufragium* \*tenue est] *tenuē est* 14 *possunt*] *possit* \*con-  
*sequuntur*] *sup. q litt. c eras.* 16 \*Fabiae] *seq. 4 litt. spat.* 17 \*consulto]  
*seq. 4 litt. spat.* \*L.] *Lucius* 19 *at*] \**inest* 20 *vulgo*] \**volgo*  
\*etsi] *et si* 22 *hae conquestiones*] *hac conquaestiones* 24 *nostrorum*] \*  
*nostrum* 26 \*tenuiores] *tenuioris, seq. 15 litt. spatium* *a suis*] \**ea suis*  
27 \*assequebantur] *adsequi, seq. 5 litt. spatium in f. l., et unus versus vacuus relictus*

745. 1 \*praefectum] *fectum* 3 *tribulium*] *tribullum* \*in tuam  
*nimiam*] *in tuam animium* 5 *senatus*] \**ab senatus* 7 *sectari*] \**sectare*  
8 *aut ad*] \**aut vulgo*] \**volgo* 10 \**si L.] sil* \**adol.] adul.* \**iam*] \*  
*inest* 13 *vitrico*] \**vitricos* 14 \**pie*] *pie* 19 \**corrumpi*] \*  
*conrumpi* 20 *si quis*] \**siquis* 21 *tu summam*] \**summam*  
22 \**animis*] *aminis* 23 \**lenocinium*] *lenocium* 24 *populo Romano*] \*  
*př* 25 \**respuit*] *res fuit* *Lacedaemonii*] \**Lacedemonii* 26 \**quoc-*  
*tid.] cotid.* 29 \**adventu*] *seq. 1 litt. spatium* 31 \**noli*] *nolli*

746. 1 \**quae res*] *quaeres* 3 \**epulum Q.] epulumque* 4 \**P.]*  
*P. . . populo Romano*] *Př* 5 \**Africani*] *Affricani, ita ll. 8 et 15*  
6 \**ac Stoicus*] *ac sluicu* *haedinis*] *haedinis* 7 \**vasa Samia*] *m. 2 in lac.*

742. 28 *mercede corrupti*

743. 4 *candidato* 12 *decedenti. Consulatum* 20 *saepē deductum urbe* 24 *nisi*  
*honeste* 28 *quid qui ad* 31 *concedam*] *contendam*

744. 3 *assectationem* 14 *possint* 17 *Caesaris consulis* 26 *tenuiores primum*  
*nondum qui ea suis* 27 *post assequebantur seq. 14 litt. et unius versus spatium*

745. 3 *tribulum* 14 *suum*] *sane non et*] *nonne et* 22 *deliniendis*  
27 *unquam*

746. 6 *aedinis* 7 *Pulicanos*



9 \*supremo] suppremo 14 his haedinis] *his aedinis* 16 epulas] *om.*  
*m.* 1 : epula *in mgr.* 22 istuc] \*is tunc 23 \*abs te] abste \*an te]  
ante \*a me] ame 25 \*abs te] ab spe \*honestum] honestatum  
26 si noris] \*noris 27 cur ante] \*curam insurravit] \*incerauit  
28 aut quid cum] aquid quod \*quasi tute] qua sit ut e 28-29 \*quid  
postea . . . salutas] *mgr. add. m.* 1 29 \*es] e \*negligentius] neglegentius  
\*ad rationem] <sup>ad</sup>rationem

747. 1 si dirigas] sed derigas \*sin] sint 2 \*reperiantur] reppere-  
antur 7 opinione] \*opinionis \*venisse] venisset \*tu imprudentia] tum  
prudentia 8 \*dignitatisque] dignitatis quae 9 \*facio tum me pacis  
otii] *iacios tumme pacis oti* 11 \*arrogantius] adrogantius 14 \*patet]  
*seq. 2 litt. spat.* 15 \*pertinet] *seq. 2 litt. spat.* numquam] \*nunquam  
17 \*a me] ame : *mgr. a||ae* 21 \*speculis] seculis in insidiis] \*insidiis  
23 deiici] \*deici 24 \*et de] <sup>et</sup>de \*civitatis] ciuitates 25 \*compressi]  
compraessi 27 \*gladiis] *m. 2 in lac.* 28 \*egi] aegi 29 \*Kalendis  
Ianuariis] *m. 2 in lac.* duo] *inest* 30 viis] \*vitis aut \* \* \* non] \*aut  
non 31 largitio non] largitionum 32 \*hac] haec 33 \*delendae]  
delende exstinguendi] extinguerendi

748. 1 cives, cives] quae siue : *mgr. quaeſiue* 2 \*quotidie] cotidie  
6 \*incolumem] incolumen 8 hesterna] haesterna 9 \*intonuit vox]  
*intonuit ux : mgr. vox* \*designati tribuni] designavit 11 \*quae] que  
12 \*a L.] A. L. 16 \*eripiar atque evolem] eripsaratque eliolem 18 de-  
moveri] \*demouere 20 in te sit] intesti : *mgr. in te sit* 21 praesidii]  
\*praesidi 23 \*oppressuros] oppraessuros \*nam ne] *nam ne* 25 \*te  
sine] *te sine* 27 \*esse] esset videre] \*om. 28 \*adiutorem]  
adiutorum

749. 1 \*sita] ita 4 de hac re] \*hac de re \*condemnaret] condemna  
ret 5 \*petunt] *mgr. tunc* 6 summum] \*suum 7 tribunis  
plebis] TR. pl concitandae. Idem] concitanda eidem 8 \*amplissimis]  
amplissimi 10 iudicaret] \*iudicavit \*nihil est] *m. 2 in lac.* 16 \*faxint]  
faint \*meus] musico 19 \*bonisque] bonus quae 20 \*periculum]  
peric. 22 \*annum] *annum* 23 \*non in administrando] *noniano*  
mistrando : *mgr. nō in ammiſtrando* 24 illa pestis immanis, manus] *om. in 5*

746. 12 caelebranda 14 iis aedinis 16 aepulas 26 cos] res tamen]  
causam 27 monitores 28 quid qnom

747. 1 si derigas 7 ea *om.* 22 hic et 29 duos 33 extinguerendi

748. 1 quae cives 8 externa

749. 7 concitandae iidem 8 delecti *om.* 16 dii 24 post sint *seq. 2 fere*  
*versuum lac., tum illa pestis immanis et*

*litt. et 2 versuum lac.* 25 qua poterit] qua po..... 26  
advolabit] \*aduolauit in castris] *om. in 12 litt. lac.*

750. 1 \*flammamque] flammam quae 3 comprimentur] \*confirmentur  
4 causa] \*cum 6 \*hortor] ortor 7 \*obtestor] optestor 8 ut vitae]  
vitae 9 idem vos] fidem vel \*oro] oro 11 obruatis] obseruatis  
12 populi Romani] P. R. 14 sordibus] sordidus \*lacrimis ac maerore]  
*om. in 22 litterarum lac.: mg. lacrimis ac memore perditus* 15 \*supplex]  
suplex 16 intuetur] in̄tuetur (*sic*) 17 \*hac eum re] *inest* 19 vos  
L.] \*vos si \*iniuste] *om. in 6 litt. lac.* 20 laesit] \*lesit \*volun-  
tatemve] voluntatem ve 21 \*modestiae] modestie 25 \*seditiosorum]  
seditiorum

751. 2 quid] \*qui 3 \*praeclaro] preclaro 6 \*vertet] vertes  
\*domumne] domum ne 7 \*imaginem] ymaginem 9 \*lugentemque]  
lugentem quae \*modo consulem] modicos 12 poena] pena 13  
\*conspectuque] conspectu quae 14 partes] \*partis \*in quibus] *mg. add.*  
15 \*magnum dolorem] magn. dolore 18 \*libentissime] libentissime  
maerentem] \*merentem 19 \*C.] *sup. lin.* 20 \*maeror] ameror (*cf.*  
*l. 29*) 22 \*litteraeque] litterae quae 24 existet] \*excidet \*quae si]  
*mg. al. est* 25 alienissima a] \*alienissima 26 populi Romani] p̄  
28 Lanuio] \*Lanuio 29 causa tota] tota maestum] amestum  
30 Sospitae] \*sospite

752. 1 \*commendatio] comendatio \*auctoritatis] auctoritati \*consul]  
*mg. add.* 2 ut] \**om.* cupidissimum otii] cupidissimū osci 3 \*acer-  
rimum] acerrim (*ante 3 litt. lac.*)

749. 25 qua p. R. minatur 26 in castris] L. Catilinae

750. 5 esse debet 8 ut vitae *om.* 9 fide in vos 11 obstruatis modo]  
meo 13 attulisset et 14 et sordibus] sordibus confectus] confectus morbo  
16 tuetur 24 eripiuntur] reperiuntur

751. 5 Iupiter 9 obsculata 12 paena 26 p. r. 29 tota causa  
mestum 31 potissimum *om.*

752. 2 cupidissimum otii] cupidissime

## PRO CLUENTIO

Oratio ad iudices pro A. Cluentio Habito quem Statius Albius Opianicus accusauerat quod Opianicum patrem suum corrupto iudicio condempnari fecisset.

541. 1 animaduerti] animum aduerti                      3 Iuniani] *v. l. del.*                      altera]  
alteram                      9 pars <sup>^</sup> ea] <sup>^</sup> est                      11 a] ab                      14 <sup>^</sup> ~~fa~~nta] *al.*
542. 8 negem <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> esse                      15 valeat] vel eat (?) *del.*                      20 iudicibus]  
iudices                      22 huc] huic                      24 deferemus] referemus                      26 ratio] oratio  
29 sunt] sint                      sed <sup>^</sup> d] *del.*                      30 <sup>^</sup> et me] *del.*                      peroratum] perorabo tum
543. 3 auditor] audiatur                      opinione] opinionibus *del.*                      4 si quis] si  
qui                      8 aliquis] aliqui                      9 <sup>^</sup> ea quae] *al.*                      12 tandem] tantundem  
*del.*                      13 dicam] de causa dico                      18 dicitur] dicatur *del.*                      19 istius]  
ipsius                      22 sicuti] sicut (?) *del.*                      24 <sup>^</sup> ~~su~~um] *del.*                      25 Albium]  
Abbiūm                      26 caput illius] *al.*                      33 faciam <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> que
544. 3 Albius] Abbius                      6 <sup>^</sup> ~~sa~~tis<sup>^</sup>fa<sup>^</sup>ce<sup>^</sup>re] *del.*                      11 huic] hic  
12 dicitur] dicimus                      accedere] accipere                      13 dolore] molestia *del.*                      ac] et  
21 et] etiam                      22 nubilem] *m. 2 ex* nobilem: *mg.* nubilem *del.*                      29  
nominis] in omni                      32 enim <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> est
545. 1 ducetis] iudicabitis (?) *del.*                      3 cupiditate] *v. l. del.*                      5 non  
pudicitia] *del.*                      7 perlexit] pellexit                      10 sine scelere se] *del.*                      15  
ut] aut *del.*                      17 itaque] *del.*                      20 ominibus omnium] *m. 2 in ras.:*  
*mg.* ominibus *del.*                      hanc <sup>^</sup> unam] <sup>^</sup> causam                      23 timuisse] timuisti *del.*  
24 at illam ipsam] *v. l. del.*                      28 iam] *del.*                      30 <sup>^</sup> faciendum] <sup>^</sup> esse  
31 matre] *del.*                      ne quam] namque                      32 sed] verum
546. 1 audiuistis] audistis                      2 tunc] tum                      3 cuiusmodi cunque]  
cuiuscunque modi                      mater sit] *al.*                      6 in ipsa] *al.*                      fixum] infixum cum]  
qui                      7 depellenda] *v. l. del.*                      14 <sup>^</sup> ea vero] *al.*                      agit] agitur reticere]  
*v. l. del.*                      15 futura] frustra                      23 sin <sup>^</sup> ~~u~~tem] *del.*                      28 ut <sup>^</sup> ipsum] <sup>^</sup>  
id                      30 ac] et                      31 posset] possit *del.*                      32 vos volui] *del.*                      33  
uti] ut *del.*                      34 vitaret] euitaret                      36 debuerit] potuerit
547. 2 Staienum] *m. 2 ex* Stalenum                      4 M. et Numerium Aurios]  
M. Aurium et Numerium Aurium                      GN.] Numerium, *ita l. 8*                      9 Dinee]  
Dignaeae                      10 est mortuus] *al.*                      fecit heredem] *al.*                      adolescentem]  
adolescentulum                      11 interim venit] interuenit                      14 filii recuperandi]

recuperandi filii (?) *del.* spes] spe 17 tum] tamen 18 oppressa]  
 opprensa 19 HS ccccliii] quadraginta milia 20 est mortua] *al.*  
 22 A Aurium] A marum 24 sicuti] sicut *del.* 28 propinquos] *del.*  
 29 quod] cum

548. 1 A Aurius] *del.* nobilis A] A et propinquus] perpropinquus  
 2 palam A] A multis 3 Aurium A] A esse 5 A interfectum] A et 6  
 renuntiant] *al.* 8 A. Aurius A] A is 10 fugam autem] *al.* 12  
 inermum] inermem se 17 C.] Lucium Virium] Vibium 25 Aulum]  
*del.* 30 dextram] domum *del.* 31 tres ille] *al.*

549. 2 nomine] Nouia ante] infantem 3 Papia] Pappia 4  
 arcessit] accersit 6 nihil mali misera] *del.* 15 optima] optime  
 16 funeribus A] A esse ita] itaque 17 solent esse] *al.* 26 a me]  
*del.* 28 quem A] A omnes 31 Cannuncio] Cannutio 33 possit]  
 posset *del.*

550. 1 iam reliqua] *del.* propiora] propiora 2 huius] huiusce  
 5 A hominem] A mortuum *del.* 7 fuit] fuisset *del.* 8 mori] emori  
 10 tam] *al.* 11 A illius] A in 16 videretur] putaretur 17 cum illa]  
 illud 19 et testamentum A] A que 22 propria] *del.* 24 A cuius] A a  
 25 custodia] custodiae potuisset] potuissent 26 sequendi] *al.* 28  
 neque] nec 34 plures] multos 35 cognosceret] *v. l. del.*

551. 1 GN.] Numerius isque] is qui *del.* 6 posset] possit 7  
 esset] erit 8 ab] a 9 iudicarit] iudicauerit cum eius] cuius  
 11 A longe] A cum 12 esset] erit 15 tum] cum *del.* 24 recenti re  
 fuit] fuit recenti omnium] *v. l. del.* 25 Larinas] Larino 27 Asuui]  
 Ascii: *ita l.* 29 28 Auilio] Auillio 30 Romam] Romae 31  
 perficere A] A rem 32 Asiuius] Asuuius

552. 6 et ibidem post.] *del.* (?) 9 neque Asuum neque Auilium] neque  
 Asuuium neque Auillium *del.* 10 Asuui] Ascii 12 arenarias] hare-  
 narias 16 Asuui] Ascii 17 Asiuius... Auilium] Asuuius... Auillium  
*del.* 18 Quinti Manilii] Q. Manli 19 ille] illic 21 ab se] a sese  
 22 Manilio] Manlio 23 iam quid] *del.* Manilium] Manlium 27 tum]  
 cum 28 rem cum] tum cum 29 et A] A tam relinquit] reliquit  
 30 Asuuium] Auillianum indicio] illius comprobabatur] comprobatur  
 31 inter adlegatos] *del.*

553. 4 velle curari] *del.* 5 suos omnes] *al.* 6 circumforanum]  
*del.* 7 HS oooo] duo milia tum] *del.* 8 qui] cum 11  
 Dinea] Dinaea prendisset] prendidisset 12 eius] huius 13 posset]

possit 16 eum similem] similem sui eum debebitis] debetis 18  
iam nemo] *al.* 21 iudicabat] iudicavit (?) *del.* 25 <sup>^</sup> saluo capite <sup>şuo</sup>] <sup>^</sup> suo *del.* 26 victricus] vitricus attamen] at 28 illi] ei 33  
illum] illi

554. 2 ei deo] ideo 7 publice <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> que 9 şolum] *del.* 10  
municipium] municipum 11 tantae] antea *del.* 16 huic accusationem]  
hunc a causa demouere] remoueri 19 enim] *del.* 26 Aletrinate]  
Allerinati 30 usus est] *al.* 33 turpem esse] *al.* 35 studio]  
studiose *del.*

555. 2 <sup>^</sup> ignobili] <sup>^</sup> non 4 sed] et 6 locutus] conlocutus  
7 Bebrio] Bebio 8 dignitate] diligentia 10 multis] multa  
11 paucis <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> comparatur 12 interuenissent] interuenisse ad] ob  
14 dicit esse] esse dicit 18 manifestoque] manifesteque 21 ut]  
uti 23 venerit] veniret 27 tamen] cum causa 28 Aletrinatis]  
a lacrinatis 32 possent] possint 34 periculum <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> continebatur  
ego neque] ego qui neque illis 36 illi quidem ipsi] illi ipsi quidem *del.*

556. 2 hiş sum] *del.* 4 P. Cannutius] *del.* 5 ille <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> quidem  
6 coniciebantur] constituebantur 10 cum] tum 14 possum] possim  
implere] *al.* impudentiae] imprudentiae *del.* 15 id non] *al.* 18  
impudentissimus] imprudentissimus (?) *del.* collegi] conlegi 19 laudi  
dari] laudari 23 sim] sum 24 apprehenderam] reprehenderam  
25 quaesieram] quaesiueram (?) *del.* 30 esse] fuisse 34 factas insidias]  
*al.* 35 de alia re] alia de re 36 cuius usu] quo visus posse] posset

557. 1 Bebrus] Bebius <sup>^</sup> suo] <sup>^</sup> de 4 secum Cleophantum] *v. l. del.*  
7 et] tota] *del.* 13 ac] et faciebat] faciebant 14 C. Iunius] qui  
vuius *del.* 18 Staienus] *m. 2 ex Stal-; mg. Staienius venenum ... collata]*  
*mg. add. m. 2 (quae porro hab. codex sine horum sed sup. lin. Que orum porro)*  
33 Alérinates] *v. l. del.* 38 Cepasios] Caepacinos modo] animo

558. 4-6 adhibetur <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> nisi forte hoc causa est quod medici nihil praeter  
artificium oratoris etiam auctoritatem praestare debent 7 Cannutius]  
Cannuntius ac alte] et alte 11 dicere coepit] *al.* 12 hoc] *v. l. del.*  
videbatur] *v. l. del.* 22 iam] ita causa] persona causaque 26 is] his  
30 omnia nunc] *al.* 31 qui et] *al.* C.] *fort. a m. 2*

559. 1 consistere] consentire 2 sibi] ipsi 5 conscius <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> esset  
*del.* 7 condemnatum iam] iam condemn. 14 <sup>^</sup> condemnastis] <sup>^</sup> et  
20 oratione] ratione *del.* 23 accusatori] accusatoris *del.* causam esse]  
esse causam *del.* 24 abs te] de te *del.* 26 <sup>^</sup> iudiciis] <sup>^</sup> in 27 age

- si nocentis] ages innocentis *del.* 30 Fabricios] Fabricium *del.* 31 ex-  
 tant memoriae] extat memoria 34 loco] locum 36 si] etsi  
 560. 2 esse corruptum] *del.* 7 nemini] non *del.* 10 bis his] *del.*  
 11 iniquus] inimicus 12 esse iudicium] *al.* 13 ab Oppianico] *del.*  
 20 habeam] habes 22 dic Celio Stagneno] dico C. Aelio Staieno  
 23 Albium] Abbiūm 24 appello, Oppianice] *del.* Tite] *del.* 26  
 in eo] meo *del.* at] an *del.* 30 fatemini] fateamini 33 attente  
 audistis item] attendistis ut item *del.* 34 dicetur] dicatur *del.*  
 561. 3 Stageni] Staieni 4 applicavit] se donis datis muneribusque]  
*al.* 5 auctore] fautore 6 esset] erat *del.* 9 a] ab cogitandum]  
 excogitandum 12 et] ac suis] petere 13 dominante] monitae *del.*  
 14 aliquando sint] sunt aliquando reuertantur] reuescantur 15 safinat elte]  
 safinat ille 19 sibi] esse 22 cum suis] *al.* 23 arare] autem  
 29 et sexcenta quadraginta millia] HS. xxx *del.*  
 562. 1 vere] vera 4 et] aut 7 mentem suam] *al.* 8 de  
 me iudices] eodem iudicibus igitur ipsi] *al.* 9 quaeratur] quaeretur  
 Oppianico] Oppianicum 10 qui] quid fieri non] *al.* 13 consilium]  
 consilii 14 polliceretur] polliceatur 19 adiuuas] *m. 2 in textu: mg.*  
 adiuuas *del.* 20 quo] quod 24 amarus] auarus aliquid] ex  
 eius sermone specule degustarat. Unus et alter dies intercesserat cum res parum  
 certa 29 deligarat] delegerat 31 planus] plane *(sic)* 32 incubaret]  
 incubarat  
 563. 3 a] ab 12 pronuntiare dixerunt. Hic] *ita m<sup>1</sup> in textu sine v. l.*  
 15 HS DCXL quadragena milia] S. S. xxx milibus 16 distributa]  
 distributis 18 quod] quodam 22 conuicium] conuitium 23  
 Staieno] Aelio enim] ei 27 posset quid] possit quod deberetur]  
 deberet 30 esse solent] *al.* 32 spectabant] expectabant 34  
 ut in] fuit  
 564. 4 actum] factum 8 hoc] qui 13 adducti] abducti  
 16 posset] possit 18 altera] atque 25 edes] edis 26 ac-  
 cersitus] arcessitus 31 ab nulla] *del. (?)* 32 suppressam] supprestam  
*del.* 34 sciebant] sentiebant 36 gratis] gratiis 40 id] illud  
 565. 3 L.] *del.* 4 praeditus] *del.* comodatus] accomodatus  
 5 illi] habito invidiam] iudicio 6 recentem] tum 7 iniectum  
 esse] *al.* 8 discendi] dicendi 9 adeo] ideo *(?) del.* 10 potius  
 tempore] *del.* A.] ca *del.* 11 iuuari] mutari 12 at] ac 16 non  
 quod] *del.* 18 id] audet] *del.* 19 iudicium tentatum esse] tentatum

- esse iudicium 22 qui <sup>^</sup> hoc] <sup>^</sup> id 25 relinquatur] relinquetur 26  
 et] ea 27 accusator dicit] *al.* 30 esset] fuisset 31 ipsam] iam  
 et atrocitatem criminum] criminum et atrocitatem 33 postremum] postremo  
 566. 2 hic] hec obcerate] hoc certe (*sup. lin.*): obceratas (*mg.*)  
 4 <sup>^</sup> nūq̄] *del.* versatur] vertatur 5 et <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> ex huius et <sup>^</sup> agitis] agitatis  
 7 Albiana] Abbiana 8 ducibus] iudicibus *del.* HS. DCXL] S. S. xxx  
 milia 11 enim] eum 12 <sup>^</sup> cum] <sup>^</sup> cur 13 cui <sup>^</sup> pecuniam]  
<sup>^</sup> quod *del.* 14 requirebant] querebant 15 perfectum] effectum  
 16 damnationem] condemnationem 19 vita e] *al.* 21 consistent]  
 consistunt 25 conciliationem gratiae] conciliationis gratiam (?) *del.*  
 34 istam <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> iutro hunc <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> tum  
 567. 2 fuit] fuisset 6 fuit] alia] *del.* 10 gratia] gratiam matre <sup>^</sup>]  
<sup>^</sup> habebat simulates 12 Albius] Abbius 14 quid] quod 19 dis-  
 putem] disputo 22 DCXL] sescenta quadraginta 24 <sup>^</sup> ooo] quadra-  
 gena 27 hoc tempus ante] *al.* ista <sup>^</sup> res] <sup>^</sup> ipsa 31 multa ista] *al.*  
 33 similia ut] *v. l. del.* 34 disceptationi <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> similis  
 568. 2 audiais .c.] *al.* 7 adduci] abduci arreptus] abreptus  
 8 at quam] ad quam quaestionem <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> abreptus est 9 libeat] *v. l. del.*  
 11 tum <sup>^</sup> mos] <sup>^</sup> populo *del.* 12 rogaris] rogaueris *del.* 15 expec-  
 tasset] respectasset nec] neque 16 iam] *del.* 18 iurasset] *v. l. del.*  
 21 inter litus] interlitis 22 in iudicium omnino] omnino in iudicium  
 25 in <sup>^</sup> legem] <sup>^</sup> aliquam 27 his] illis 28 aliam] aeliam 29  
 idcirco inquit] *al.* praetor] populus Romanus *del.* 33 illam] ullam  
 34 tunc] tum *del.*  
 569. 6 Orchium] *m. 2 ex* Orchinium a] ab 7 Syllae] Sullae  
 residuis] repetundis <sup>^</sup> constitutus] <sup>^</sup> est 9 obiectam] abiectam 10 posse]  
*p. del.* 13 tum] autem 17 ac pacatum] atque placatum 18 tamen <sup>^</sup>  
 statuerunt] <sup>^</sup> illi iudices 21 e] <sup>^</sup> humanitate] *del.* 22 nostrum] vestrum  
 25 Sex.] L. 26 nec Q.] neque Q. atque amplissimi viri] *al.* 28 ac <sup>^</sup>]  
<sup>^</sup> sine 29 igitur illud] *al.* 30 modus <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> ullus *del.* habitus] adhibitus  
 570. 3 tamen] autem 4 ex parte] ex causa parte *del.* at <sup>^</sup> etiam]  
<sup>^</sup> enim 6 etiam illi hoc] est hoc illi 7 Cosconii] Coscinii 9 e] ]  
*del.* 11 Bulbo] Bulbum 13 tu] tum *del.* 15 non <sup>^</sup> huic] <sup>^</sup> plus  
 16 Popilii] Popilli 20 quod in] cum in *del.* 21 defendissent] offen-  
 dissent 26 damnatum] condemnatum 31 HS DC] S.S. xxx in  
 Oppianici] *del.* 32 retinuit] reticuit suppressit] repressit 34 hones-  
 tissimis] honestis  
 571. 1 est] sit 3 causa e] *del.* 5 ad diuturna] adiutura ab se]  
 a se 8 medio] medium

*Lacuna, quae in codicibus vulgaribus exstat (§§ 102-107 nos in tota... quaerunt), pagina insuta expleta est. In hoc et in ceteris supplementis lemmata ex editione Baileri et Halmii dedi.*

571. 12 iudici ad emendas] iudicia demenda 14 ut in illa] uti in ulla  
 15 reperitur] repperitur 16 ab iudice] a iudice damnatio] damnacio,  
*ita saepe* 21 si quis] si qui 22 ab Iunio] *inest* est] sit 23 Popillii]  
 Popillii 25 ecquod] et quod possumus] possumus 26 dixitne tandem]  
 dixit netandem Fidiculanus] *inest* 29 Quinctius] Quintius 30 uno]  
 unos 31 suae decuriae] sue decurie, *ita semper* 33 nec turba] *inest*  
 35 nihilo minus] nichilominus 36 capta nusquam] captanus quam

572. 1 Fidiculanus] Fidiculanus 2 fecisse] fecisset HS. cccc]  
 ŠŠ. cccc 6 adducti] ad docti 8 aliud si] aliud is nihil] nichil,  
*ita semper* 11 clementiam] *inest* nolebant] nollebant 12 sedis-  
 sentne] sedissent ne 19 redderet isne] reddere isne 21 respondet]  
 respondit 22 ii tales] ii *del. m. 2* 23 declinarint] declinarent  
 27 iam] *sup. lin. add.* 30 maluerunt] malluerunt 31 ii fecerunt] hi  
 fecerint 32 ingenio] inienio 34 iure] ui quis Q.] quisque  
 35 dignitatis quae] dignitatisque debet] debent

573. 2 iudicum] iudicium<sup>or</sup> 4 Heius] Heiutus 9 distulit] dispulit  
 (?) *del.* 11 tum] cum agitante] agente 14 causam totam] *al.*  
 16 Fidiculanum] Fidiculanum, *ita l. 17* 18 condempnauerunt] condemnarant  
 21 etiam] iam 23 condonatum] condemnatum *del.* 30 laudatoris aut  
 aduocati] lautioris aduocati *del.* 33 iam desuefactam] *del.* 34 reuo-  
 cauerat] reuocarat 35 illis ipsis] *del.* fuit] *del.* 36 facite] fecit *del.*

574. 1 mores eius et arrogantiam] mores et arrogantiam eius atque illam]  
 etiam 4 in rostra] ad rostra et iam] etiam *del.* 6 natus] sit *del.*  
 viuat] viuit 8 persecuta] prosecuta 16 qui ea] *del.* quaero] *del.* (?)  
 Quinctio] trib. pl. 20 iudicia fuerunt] iudicarunt 23 potuit]  
 putarer] potuerunt condempnasse] condemnasset 24 quis] qui sit (?)  
*del.* 26 obiecta non sit] non obiecta sit 28 inniti videbatur] nitebatur

575. 11 si quae] si qua 12 admittunt] amittunt cum] quod  
 14 lites] maiestatis 17 eos illi] eosdem 18 iudicium] *del.* 20 ut]  
 uti 22 ac] hac 23 illud] id 30 et plerique] *al.* 31 necessi-  
 tudo] consuetudo 37 periculis] cum tum] eam 38 vim] ]  
 animi in hoc] ex hac

576. 1 possum] possim 3 huius] eius 7 primum illud] *al.*  
 8 contemptam] *al.* 9 exemplis] *v. l. del.* 11 ipsum postea esse] *al.*



a censoribus erant] a erant *del.*      16 hunc] nunc      17 libertus furti]  
 libertum furtis      18 ipse] ille      20 a non modo] a ii      29 deletas] sub-  
 latas      32 cepisse] accepisse      35 electos] *del.*      36 impedimento]  
 impedimento      37 appellari] appellare      38 inter se] interest (?) *del.*

577. 1 rescindat] rescindat      2 aerarios referri] aerario referre *del.*  
 tribu moueri] tribum mouere *del.*      6 videtis] videatis *del.*      8 dicuntur]  
 dicantur      istud] illud      statuam] statuamus *del.*      10 idē] *al.*      18] hic  
 causa] in causa      19 aliquod a Cluentio] a Cluentio aliquid      20 virum  
 bonum] *del.*      22 censorum] censoriam      23 cum re coniunctam  
 esse] *v. l. del.*      24 dum] cum      25 sui] *v. l. del.*      26 curarit]  
 curauerit      28 necarit] necauerit      29 curauit] *v. l. del.*      30 potione]  
 abortione      31 uxorem] uxores      hoc] uno      33 quaereret] dare vellet  
*del.*      sit deprehensus] *del.*

578. 1 nec] neque      2 siue Oppianico] siue opinio      3 tua] aut  
 6 graui aliquo] *del.*

*Sequitur in dimidiata pagina insuta lacunae vulgaris (§§ 126-132 subscripserint . . . standum) supplementum e Cluniacensi haustum<sup>1</sup>.*

578. 10 D. Matrinium] Decimum Macrinium      11 apud] apud  
 Publicium] Puplicium      12 Plaetorium] Pretorium      13 iidem] eidem  
 14 homine nulla] hominem nulla      15 duxerunt] dixerunt      16 sub-  
 scripserunt] subscripserint      17 M'] M.      18 Ti. Guttam] Titum Guttam  
 19 gratis] gratiis      20 non ut illae] non ut illa      Quinctianae] Quinctiana  
 21 habebantur] haberebantur      22 affines] adfinis      23 afferant] adferant  
 sese] esse      26 e] *om.*      statuerunt] *inesit*      28 sortitione] sortitio      poena]  
 pena      33 qui . . . deliquerat] ne . . . delinqueret      35 subirent] uberent

579. 1 hoc tu] hoc ut      animadvertes] animaduertis      8 innocenti is]  
 innocentiis      9 ac] et      10 qui] quis      11 eadem culpa] eandem  
 eulpam      convenire] oportere conuenire      aut quam] ut quam      13 con-  
 stitues] *inesit*      15 sortitione] sortitio      16 poenam] paenam      et] ad  
 19 subscriptionibus] subcillationibus      21 erat illud] illud erat      multitudini,  
 nemini licitum] multitudinem illicitum      22-23 invidiam . . . magnam]  
 inuidia . . . magna      23 illa] milia      etenim] et enim      24 tabellarum]  
 tabularum      25 ab] a      negligi] neglegi      26 infames] infamis      27 ipso]  
 ipso in      30 iudicia] iudicia cum equestri ordine      apud eosdem] apud eos  
 31 praeditis] *om.*

580. 1 ista] ipsa      2 P.] L.      6 iudices] iudicis      iis] his

<sup>1</sup> *vv. dicent . . . corrupto (578. 7-14) et in textu et in supplemento leguntur.*

7 sibi] sibi esse dixerint] dixerunt liquere] licere 8 iudicat] *seq. 2 litt.*  
*lac.* 11 relinquit] reliquit 12 sententia gratis] sententiae gratiis  
 14 Gellii] Gelli 16 standum non] standum ne

580. 17 putet] putat 21 fortior] sanctor 23 enim] ipsi  
 27 dicam] dico 29 equitum] equitii Licinius] Licinnius 31 con-  
 ceptis] contemptum peiurasse] periurasse *del.* dicere vellet] *del.* 32 con-  
 tra nemo] *del.* 33 itaque] *al.* 37 conturbat] perturbat

581. 1 posse vix videor] *al.* recitasti] recitasse *del.* 3 ad] ob  
 damnationem] condemnationem 6 coniungeret] adiungeret 8 cen-  
 sorum] censorium 11 exheredat] exheredavit 15 populo concitato  
 rem] populi concitatore *del.* 16 reuocauisset] reuocasset 17 esse] *al.*  
 flagraret] flaglare 19 aut] at 21 senatus id] *al.* 23-24 rogaretur  
 . . . sententiis] *m. 2 in mg.* 27 decreuerit] decreuerat 31 perferen-  
 dum] referendum 32 trib. pl.] *del.* antea] ante 35 illam legem  
 et quaestionem] *al.* 36 sua natura] *del.*

582. 1 sic est] *del.* 7 illorum] cum 9 fuisse iudicium] *del.*  
 11 esto] ego *del.* 19 orationes] *del.* et] ac 20 ac] aut 23 ducantur]  
 dicantur 24 nullam umquam] numquam ullam 26 quasi quid] si  
 27 mandauerimus] *del.* 28 isto] ipso 29 L.] C. 31 eius] *del.*

583. 2 itaque in] *del.* 4 et causa] ex 6 est ipse] *del.*  
 9 essemus] essem 11-12 filius] Albanum posebat in Tiburti cum asse-  
 dicemus ego et Brutus filius tum] autem 13 nequiciam] inequiciam  
 14 testificari] se dicebat voluisse] *al.* 20 recitata] esse moleste]  
 molesto 21 nec] neque 22 ista] ita 24 non] nunc illa] ea  
 opinione populari] *al.* 26 quod ab] ego et 27 huc] huic 28 attu-  
 listis] attulissetis *del.* 30 T] *del.* 35 videlicet imprudentes] *del.*  
 36 nobis] nostros 37 tibi hoc] *del.*

584. 1 autem] *del.* sed] et 2 istuc] istud 3 fecerim legis] *al.*  
 6 fortasse] fortassis 7 a capite] capitis 14 ut ne] *del.* 15 viderentur]  
 videbantur 18 nec] neque 20 illa qua] illam quam *del.* 21 esset]  
 fuisset 22 obtinerem] obtineremus 24 quemquam] quempiam 25 con-  
 tineri] teneri tibi] sibi *del.* 28 teneatur] contineatur 32 ut neruis] *del.*  
 33 legum] et *del.*

585. 2 hoc loco sexto] isto loco hi iudices] *al.* 6 illi] *del.*  
 8 antea] ante 9 ergo esse] *al.* 10 Orchini] Orchiui 11 de ambitu]  
*del.* 12 rei p.] omnis 13 si quis] si qui te T. Acci] *al.*

16 sed] et ea <sup>^</sup>qua] <sup>^</sup>in 18 istis] iis 19 iudices <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>quaerere  
 22 qui collegerit] qui coegerit 23 quid <sup>^</sup>ergo] <sup>^</sup>id 24 questores]  
 questor deinceps] deinde 25 qui] quid 27 condemnaretur] con-  
 demnetur 28 interest] intersit 29 tamen ipsa] *al.* lex <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>nos  
 31 si] sic item] idem 35 nolit] noluit  
 586. 2 putat sua] sua putat 3  $\xi\xi$  re] *del.*

*Sequitur in pagina dimidiata lacunae vulgaris (§§ 149-154 non enim mihi . . .  
 Habitus accusatur) supplementum Cluniacense.*

586. 7 nolo] nollo existimare] existumare 8 dicta sunt] *mg. vel*  
 dicta sint 10 a me] te a me desiderari] *inest* eiusmodi] *inest*  
 13 eis] <sup>o</sup>eis 14 umquam] unquam recusavit ne] accusavit ut 17 mo-  
 lesta et] *inest* 18 tantum] tamen 21 qui summum] *inest* 22  
 adscendere] ascendere 30 existimasset] existumasset 32 qua est usus]  
 questus 33 quidquam] quicquam: *ita semper* 34 equester ordo] eques R.  
 35 concludatur] *inest* 37 vere] uero vixerunt] uix erunt 39 sese] *inest*

587. 2 potestatem suam] potestate sua constitutum sit] constitum est iis]  
 his 3 iudicant] iudicarent 9 restiterunt] restituerunt 10 cum]  
 quam cum tum erat nobilitate] cum erant nobilitatis 11 ut ii qui rem]  
 uti querem 12 Cn.] gn. ū 13 populi Romani] p<sup>i</sup> R. *in ras.* eque-  
 strisque ordinis] ceterique eiuscemodi ordinis 14 aliquid] aliquod 16  
 populi Romani] p<sup>r</sup>. 19 non contempsisse] contempsisset 21 maluisse]  
 ualuisse 23 secuti] secum 29 splendor apud] splendore 30 toga]  
 toga et 31 cum summa] cōsūma maiores] maioris 32 praemia, tum]  
 premixtum 33 ne ea] *inest*

587. 34 tum] tunc 35 colligarentur] alligarentur

588. 1 recusabit] recusavit 2 ea] ex teneretur] tenetur 7 in-  
 dignum] iniquum 8 rem <sup>^</sup>p.] <sup>^</sup>que 9 <sup>^</sup>sine] <sup>^</sup>se quam] qua  
 10 vixerit] iusserat 11 arbitraretur] arbitretur 13 vos attenditis et  
 auditis] ius auditis et attenditis 14 lege] *al.* 17 extimabant] existima-  
 bunt 22 atque] et omnium] hominum 26 infinitum et incertum] *al.*  
 27 occultum  $\xi\xi$ ] *del.* 28 dixit] dixerit

589. 1 religioni . . . vestrae] religionibus . . . vestris 2 iudicis <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>memi-  
 nisse se hominem (?) *del.* populo Rom.] P<sup>r</sup>R *del.* 5 velit ipse] *del.*  
 7 reo] reus *del.* 8 tum] tñ (?) *del.* 10 putare esse solum] reputare  
 solum esse neque] nec 12 cupiditateinque] cupiditatesque 13 ab] a

14 a] ab 19 publica] *del.* 22 sibi fingenda esse] *v. l. del.* 24  
 necessario me] *al.* 26 potuerunt] potuerint 28 dixisti] dixit 29  
 incommodis] incommo<sup>di</sup>ssimis 30 <sup>^</sup> eius] <sup>^</sup> omnes 31 Ancarii]  
 Anchari villicum] villicos 34 expostulatio] ea postulatio 35 Elii]  
 Aelii 36 Elius] Aelius

590. 2 Florio] Floro 3 infit latum] in<sup>fi</sup>tatum HS xxx] S. S.  
 sexcenta triginta 4 HS ooc] S. S. xxx<sup>x</sup> satis cautum] *al.* 6 GN]  
 Ceei 7 de] a 8 Celio] Ceio 11 seruo] serui furti] furtum  
 14 hospitum] hospitem A. Binium] A. Biuium 19 vitam] causam reum  
 volunt esse] esse reum volunt 20 collegerunt] collegerint 21 responsu]  
 responso 27 C. Vibium] *m. 2 ex* C. Iubium Capacem] Capacum  
 29 Plectorius] Praetorius Capaci] Vibi 31 dico esse] *al.* 32 praer-  
 toris edicto] *del.*

591. 3 <sup>^</sup> quae] <sup>^</sup> per 5 cum ille] *v. l. del.* 7 matre viua] *del.*  
 possent] possint *del.* <sup>^</sup> quod] <sup>^</sup> id 9 in illa] *del.* 12 iam] *del.*  
 13 defendat] defendit 14 magnum <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> crimen 15 et cetera] *al.*  
 16 illa] *del.* 17 quis] qui 18 <sup>^</sup> quem] <sup>^</sup> ad 20 hunc] nunc  
 21 exurget] exurgue 23 uti] ut *del.* 24 afferret] adderet 27 hos]  
 hosce 28 habeat] habuit *del.* et] ac 32 inter ipsos] *del.* 33 quod <sup>^</sup>]  
<sup>^</sup> eos 36 <sup>^</sup> eiectum] <sup>^</sup> et *del.*

592. 1 ut] ne condemnato] dam<sup>na</sup>to 2 sin] si 3 Habitus et]  
 Habitus inimicum 5 hominibus] omnibus 6 respicere] aspicere  
 vitae Habitus] *al.* 8 viuere] viueret 9 ac] et 10 dolore] dolo-  
 rem 11 sibi ipse] *v. l. del.* 13 apud] ad 14 reliquisse] *v. l. del.*  
 15 a socrus] ab socrus liberum] *v. l. del.* 16 atque] ac 18 venenum  
 per quem] *del.* 19 adeo] ideo 20-21 familiarissime <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> est usus  
 potius (quam *add. in mg.*) etiam similtas eine igitur quem sibi offensorem (offen-  
 sio<sup>re</sup>m *mg.*) Oppianico familiarissimum 22 suum scelus] *al.* committe-  
 batur] committebat deinde] igitur 23 iam] tam 29 comesum]  
 comestum *del.* potum] epotum omnes partes] *al.* 31 posset] possit *del.*  
 33 non haberet] *del.*

593. 1 <sup>^</sup> si] quod ad alios potius] *al.* 6 C. Quinctilium] L. Quinc-  
 tium 7 et statio] ea questio 8 valente] valenti 10 posset] non  
 possit 11 quidem] quidam 12 renuntiare domino] *al.* 13 in Falerno  
 improbitatem coloni] *al.* 15 ex] de 16 postquam] posteaquam  
 20 statim moliri] *del.* 21 arupilio] arutilio

*Sequitur lacunae §§ 176-182 (quendam . . . constitutum esset) in pagina dimidiata supplementum Cluniacense.*

593. 24 Ascla] *inest* servum illum] seruo-millum 26 adul.] adul.  
28 etsi] et si benevol.] beniuol. 31 vehementissime] uehementissimis  
32 tentati] temptati 35 dimissa] demissa

594. 2 adversari] aduersarii et iam] etiam 7 intellig.] intelleg.  
11 non modo] non modo in 14 a Stratone] a Stratonem 15 antea]  
ante a 18 optare] obtare 19 Q. Hortensio] Hortensio 20  
aliud] aliquid 22 testamenti spe devinctum] testamentis pcede uinctum  
23 posset] possit 24 eiusmodi. Cum] eiu . . . . . um *m<sup>1</sup>. suppl. m<sup>2</sup>.* 26  
piscinamque] spicinamque armarii] armari 27 et HS\*\*\*] et sextertiorum  
28 postridie] postridie: *mg.* postridie cognito] cogniti 29 armario]  
armarium 30 quaerebant] *om.* 32 dentatum] dentum tortuosam]  
cortuosam 33 serrulam] serrolam, *sed l.* 34 serrula qua illud potuisse]  
quam illud potuisset circumsecari] circumsecaret

595. 1 recuperata] *reciperata* 6 postea cum] posteaquam 7  
mutaturam] mutaturam 9 dedit] dedit 14 T. Annii] Titi Ani  
L.] *inest* 15 Saturii] Saturi ceterorum] *inest (sine et)* 16 esset] esse

595. 19 posset] possit adhuc] ab hoc 22 esse] <sup>^</sup> <sup>^</sup> hoc 23 ad] in  
24 aut] <sup>^</sup> <sup>^</sup> ii 26 posset] possit 27 at] aut *fuit] del.* 29 alia  
igitur] *al.* 30 dicendum vobis] *al.* 31 dicitabat] dicitauit Strato . . .  
dixit] Stratonem . . . dixisse 32 en hoc] item hic 34 ipsae] istae  
35 de] in littera nulla] *al.*

596. 1 primam] primum orationem] in ratione 2 aliquid adiungere  
dictum] aliquod dictum adiungere 3 dolore] per dolorem *del.* 4 sus-  
picionem] suspicio *del.* 5 ipsum] ipsa *del.* 7 illum] <sup>^</sup> <sup>^</sup> ut 11 aut  
*in] del.* 15 nominat] nominatim 17 T.] *del.* 19 afferas] afferes  
20 ex] de 21 hi] ii comprobant] comprobarunt 23 quos] quod  
*del.* 24 reseruata] *del.* Stratone] Stratonem 25 Oppianice] ab  
Oppianici 26 quem tu cum] *v. l. del.* esses] *v. l. del.* 27 reseruare]  
*al.* 29 actum esse] *al.* exacta] exsecta 30 est] Larinatum] *del.*  
33 seruili] serua *del.* 35 ullis] illis *del.*

597. 5 quod Aurium] quodam Aurum 7 cognosset] *m. 2 ex* cognosceret  
9 ab] de 12 nunc] non 14 nisi] si ab improbo viro] a viro im-  
probo 16 scelere omni fluentem] scelere omnium ac fluentem 17

instrueret] strueret 18 ac] atque totas] tota 19 Oppianicum] *del.*  
 20 muliebribus] muneribus collocationem filii] collocatione filie 22  
 affinium] adfinitatum videmus] vidimus 24 ante] antea 25-26  
 deponunt <sup>^</sup> <sub>^</sub> illa sibi ad confirmandas inimicitias adfinitates coniunctiones pignori  
 fore putavit 27-28 compararet <sup>^</sup> <sub>^</sub> sed etiam cogitavit quibus eum rebus  
 armaret 34 huius] eius ab illa est] *v. l. del.* 35 ipsa misisset] *del.*

598. 1 cum] quam cautoribus] curatoribus: *al.* accusatoribus

*Reliqua pars orationis, quae in codd. vulgaribus deest, alia manu atramento pallidiorē addita est Lectiones cod. Laur. XLVIII. 10 qui hoc supplementum habet cum ceteris careat, vel asterisco notavi vel in calce paginae posui.*

598. 4 \*luctus] luctuus 6 Fabraternorum] \*Afraternorum possit]  
 possit 14 \*consistendi] cumsistendi 15 adspetus] \*aspectus 16  
 aut urbi] \*aut turpi 17 \*quotid.] cotid. 20 \*putet] *inest* 22 in-  
 tellig.] \*intelleg. 26 \*confido] confido quasi aliquos] \*quosdam alios  
 34 possent] \*possit 36 tutum] \*totum 37 exspect.] \*expect.

599. 4 \*asseq.] adseq. itaque iis] \*ita quis \*publice] puplice  
 5 iudiciumque] \*iudicium qui 6 eam] \*iam 7 \*assurg.] adsurg.  
 8 existimare] \*existumare 10 benevol.] \*beniuol. 11 laudationem  
 decretam] \*laudationem decreta 13 Ferentani] \*Frentani \*Marrucini]  
 Marrucinii 14 \*Romanos] Romani 15 Boviano] \*Boiano \*ex  
 Samnio] exa mnio 16 \*amplissimi] amplissumi 17 Larinati] Larinati  
 pecuarias] \*pecuniarias 18 \*dictu] dictum 20 iis] *inest* 21 quam  
 doleo] \*quando 26 Cn. Tudicii] GÑ. Tudici 30 benevol.] \*beniuol.  
 31 \*horum omnium] *inest* 32 vestramque] \*uostramque 33 at quae]  
 atque : mg. *al.* at que crudelitate et scelere] \*crudelitatem et sceleri

600. 4 pellex] pelex ut] \*uti 5 hominis reservari] \*homini reseruet  
 6 \*prohibete] *inest* 8 \*vestra] uostra 9 veritatem] \*bonitatem 13  
 coepit] cepit 18 \*afflix.] adflix. 19 \*ne] *inest* \*miser si] *inest* \*factu]  
 factum in vita remanebit] uitare manebis 20 queretur] \*quereretur  
 21 aerumn.] erumn. 22 maerorum] \*laborum 23 \*exsequias] ex||equias  
 24 \*se filii] *inest* 26 sepulcro] \*sepulchro 27 iniquus] \*iniquos  
 28 parentem] \*parentum non animum] \*animum 34 carissimum] \*carum  
 35 iucund.] \*iocund. 36 \*intellig.] intelleg.

598. 11 posset

599. 17 Larinate

600. 13 caepit

20 his

26 CN. Tudici

19 vita remanebit

21 criminosissimo

## PRO CAELIO

*In mg. litt. min. p<sup>m</sup> caelio incipit*

**1000.** 2 consuetudinis] <sup>^</sup> que 3 quod] qui a ludisque] iudicisque  
5 arguatur] accusatus 7 <sup>^</sup> vim] <sup>^</sup> magistratibus

**1001.** 2 iudicio] iudicium <sup>^</sup> illustri] nobilem 5 muliebrem] libidinem]  
*al.* putet] putat 7 <sup>^</sup> existimare] <sup>^</sup> atque 8 sic] si <sup>^</sup> nec] <sup>^</sup> si  
14 non modo nichil] *al.* 18 causa] cause 21 <sup>^</sup> Caelius] M. et  
tacitus] *al.* 22 respondet] respondit 23 nobiscum] <sup>^</sup> que 25  
maxima] maxime summamque] hodie] *al.* 29 quidem ista] *al.* 30  
audietis] audiat

**1002.** 1 praetoriani] praestutiani 2 quam] iudices p 3 coob-  
tarunt] cooptarunt 4 idemque] iidemque equitis] equites 5 ordi-  
natissima] ornatissima 7 si nituntur] inuntur 11 dimanuit]  
demanuit 16 in] per 17 forma et species fuit] fuit forma et species  
18 ut] notet] *al.* 23 animaduertere] animum aduertere 25 aliqui] aliquis  
27 licentiam] diligentiam <sup>^</sup> agam] lenius] *al.* 28 et meum] *al.* 29  
debeo] debet <sup>^</sup> qualis] <sup>^</sup> ut 30 te] <sup>^</sup> omnes se 31 ab eorum]  
a verborum 32 sint] sunt 33 qui isti etati non possit] quis est qui  
huic etati atque isti dignitati non posse 34 <sup>^</sup> argumento] <sup>^</sup> ullo

**1003.** 2 istam omnem] *al.* 3 potuit isti] *m. 2 in textu* (-uit isti *in ras.*)  
4 ipsius] istius 5 virilem] togam] *al.* 12 si] a me] *al.* 14 tamen]  
tum 15 illius] <sup>^</sup> etiam 16 negat] neget 17 libidine] autem  
libidini 19 <sup>^</sup> annus] <sup>^</sup> tum 23 studuit] studia 24 illam] aliam  
27 mereri] merere 30 quoquomodo] quoquemodo 31 prima] illa] *al.*  
32 ac] et is iam se] iam sese 33 <sup>^</sup> studuit] <sup>^</sup> ac 35 omni] ordine] *al.*

**1004.** 3 se viris] seueris simulabat] simulauerat illum] eum  
6 tam] <sup>^</sup> ex 8 quodam tempore] quondam 9 <sup>^</sup> coniunctor] <sup>^</sup> viris  
12 mirabilia] admirabilia 15 corporis] et corpibus esset] <sup>^</sup> et 16 ac]  
et 18 audacter] audaciter 19 omnibus] ex] *al.* 21 fortes] fortis  
virtutis] rei p. adsimulate] adsimulatam neque] ne 22 tenendi]  
delendi 29 etiam] bonis] *al.* 27 paene] *al.* 30 amicorum]  
facinorum est] et 31 sicuti] secuti 32 istius] ipsius reformidet]

reformides 33 pudicitiae] impudicitiae 34 est vestra delapsa] delapsa  
est 35 hunc propter amicitiam] al.

1005. 7 et de crim.] an de crim. 9 ut si se] ses 10 enim] eius  
14 cupidus] cupiditatis 18 est] sit 22 eius] eris accomodauistis]  
acomodauistis 24 iam in] al. 25 et ex rei P. causa] ex publica causa  
27 possit] posset 31 v. c.] vir clarissimus

1006. 1 peleo] pelio 2 quidem mihi] al. 5 me deanim] medea  
animo 11 aiebant] iaciebant 12 prodierit] proderit 14 quam  
continuo] quod continuo 18 accersitus] arcessitus 20 solum esse] al.  
inventum] DE TESTE FVFIO 21 pertimesco] perhorresco 22  
uxores suas] al. attrectas] attrectatas 24 se ne] sine cedis] cepisse  
26 propulsare debebitis] al. 28 subministrantur] administrantur id ego]  
al. 29 esse debet] al. 33 vobis (ita m. 2 in ras.) quoque vos] al.  
34 consulendi] consulendum

1007. 1 videtis] vidistis 6 huius] et 7 condicione] condiconi  
9 voluntate] voluntatem 15 pallae] paliae vellem] vellem 17 is  
fecit] qui etiam] si tam 21 conscientie] conscientia et 22 tuum  
maledictum] al. 23 est] sit 26 eius esse] a (sic) 28-29 Titus  
Gaius que omni cum doctrina homo atque humanitatis] quae Coponii qui ex  
omnibus maxime Dionis mortem doluerunt, qui cum doctrine studio atque  
humanitatis habitabat is apud L. Lucium] habitabat apud Titum ut fuerat]  
Dio erat

1008. 1 existimet] existiment 2 remouentur] remouentur 5 i.  
Herennium] L. Herennium 8 luxuria] luxurie 9 ut] et 11  
quidam] al. 15 et tam] al. hec] ac 18 perspicue] prospicue  
19 cena seduxit] cenasse dixit 20 sodalem esse] al. 24 legis] leges  
ne si quis] al. 25 omittam] omitto 27 lenior] alienior

1009. 1 probabam] probem 3 tibi] ibi 4 nullum] non  
reminerit] inierit 6 vidi] vidit in hac] al. audivi] audivit 20  
vitia proponas] vicia ipsa propones ipsa et] et copiose 22 habeat]  
habet 25 itaque] ego ut oportet] ita 26 ita respondere] al.  
27 non] nihil 30 magnam] ne] tam

1010. 5 daretur] dicitur] ut omnia sunt alia] somnia sunt talia 8  
nulla] nullae 10 fontem video auctorem] al. 13 parauit] locum]  
quam 15 discidio] iudicio 16 sed] verum 22 obpugnandum]  
al. Caelium] M. 25 fratre] fratrem 27 coget] cogit neque]



nec inimicitias mihi] *al.* 32 hac barbula] ex barbula illa 33 ex  
illa] *al.* 34 et  $\wedge$  pro]  $\wedge$  qui 35 suscenseat] succenseat

1011. 4 huic] huius comodares] accomodares 6 auum  $\wedge$  proauum]  
 $\wedge$  non atauum  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  non 13 ne progenies quidem] *al.* 18 tu amorum]  
tua morum 22 ut et] *al.* 23 et Caelium] si Caelium 25 iud.  
 $\wedge$  vel]  $\wedge$  ut loquor] loquar dicis  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  que insimulas argumenta] arguis

1012. 4 praecipiti] praeceps 7 illum  $\wedge$  senem]  $\wedge$  illum 10  
plurimumque] plurimum qui 12 puto] putato 13 parum] paruum  
15 perpulerunt] paepulerunt 17 respuit  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  repellit 18 dona esse] *al.*  
19 parasti] paratos 22 suscipio] suspicio 29 a] *al.* disce]  
dissice 30 qui etatis] quia etatis

1013. 1 directo] derecto 2 decessisse] discessisse 3 istam  $\wedge$ ]  
 $\wedge$  praesertim 6 vero] viro 10 iam] tam 13 et] si 14  
sustentaret] sustineret 17 disciplina] disciplinam 18  $\wedge$  tibi]  $\wedge$  parens  
parens] *al.* 19 amore] amoribus 20 et  $\wedge$  hanc]  $\wedge$  ut 21 si qui]  
si quis 22 vite sue] *al.* 23 in animi] *al.* conficeret] inficeret  
27 Camillos] *m. 2 in ras.* 30 carthe] charte 31 obsoleuerunt]  
obsoleuerunt

1014. 2 aliqua] alia 4 neque] nec 6 repugnantis] repugnantes  
dicendi] verborum 9 et interdum] *al.* 10 vias  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  adolescentiae  
11 aut] ac 16 et] si 18 et] ac 19 voluptatibus] cupiditatibus  
superet] superent illa illa] *al.* 20 et directa ratio] ac directa via et ratio  
23 famam] familiam 26 inanis] inanes 29  $\wedge$  experiendo]  $\wedge$  et  
30 multi  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  quidem 32 deferuissent] deseruissent

1015. 1 liquet] libet 4 ordinatissimi] ornatissimi quorum] *al.*  
5 profusa] profluxa 6 libidinis] libidines obiecta] obiecta 8 iam]  
hoc quondam] quoniam 10 lustrorum] stuprorum 13 he delicie] *al.*  
14 qm̄ firmiore animo] q̄ firmo ingenio 15  $\wedge$  impeditumque]  $\wedge$  ne 18  
vestra prudentia e] vestrae si prudentie 22 atque] atqui 23 disputo]  
disputavi 25 sepe nimia] sepe enim a inopia etiam] inopiaque 27  
quoquo modo agendo] quoque modo facimus non modo agendo 28 ullam]  
nullam 32 pene est] *al.* familiarium] familiarum

1016. 1 labore fiendi] labor offendit 2 doctrina puerilis] doctrinae  
pueriles hic] *al.* se . . . dedisset  $\wedge$ ] *al.* 5 in hac] hac in 6 P. R.]  
pR tot  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  iam 7 nichil  $\wedge$  igitur]  $\wedge$  ne 8 nichil  $\wedge$  hominum]  $\wedge$  ne  
11 integumenta] integumenta 12 rebus] viris 14 putet] potest  
15 eius] huius 16 factum] factitatum 18 rem definiam] *al.* 21

collocarit] conlocauerit      hoc <sup>Λ</sup> <sup>Λ</sup> in      23 geret] gerat      <sup>Λ</sup> non] <sup>Λ</sup> ut  
 24 sermonis] sermonum      25 meretrix <sup>Λ</sup> <sup>Λ</sup> sed etiam proterua meretrix  
 26 si quis] si qui      28 iniurias <sup>Λ</sup> Clodie] <sup>Λ</sup> tuas Clodia      29 abste]  
 exte

1017. 7 nam aut] aut enim      8 esse factum] *al.*      huic <sup>Λ</sup> defendendum]  
<sup>Λ</sup> et ceteris magnam ad se      10 euadens] euadis      11 videtur <sup>Λ</sup> <sup>Λ</sup> esse  
 14 dictis] dicitis      15 [L. Lucei] *al.*      Luceium] Luceium      16 insidi-  
 antibus] insidiandis      17 domi] domini      19 requiram] requiro      ad] ob  
 tum iret] sumeret      22 ceterum] ceterorum      23 Lucullum] Lucei  
 28 erat] fuit      29 eius] huius

1018. 3 rursus] ausus      4 quis] quid      7 prudenti <sup>Λ</sup> <sup>Λ</sup> non      8 illa]  
 alia      10 ei fuerit] *al.*      17 laborata] elaborata      viderentur] videantur  
 19 [L. Luceium] *al.*      20 infamat atque fortunas] in famam atque in fortunas  
 21 neque non] *al.*      a <sup>Λ</sup> Caelio] <sup>Λ</sup> M.      22 studiis <sup>Λ</sup> artibus] <sup>Λ</sup> illis  
 24 facinus <sup>Λ</sup> <sup>Λ</sup> in      25 accipere] acciperet      ac tum cum petisset doleret id  
 a suis] actum comperisset dolere id a suis seruis      26 negligere] negligeret  
 27 sue domi] *al.*      28 ferre] ferret      29 praemitteret] praetermitteret  
<sup>Λ</sup> insidiis] <sup>Λ</sup> in

1019. 1 expect.] exspect.      9 <sup>Λ</sup> officii] <sup>Λ</sup> dignitatis      14 idem] nec  
 15 volvere] euoluere      16 isti mulieri venenum] *al.*      18 hic] hec  
 19 <sup>Λ</sup> Herennium] <sup>Λ</sup> L.      21 ob nullam] *al.*      23 fuisse <sup>Λ</sup> <sup>Λ</sup> causa  
 25 sic <sup>Λ</sup> enim] <sup>Λ</sup> est      26 hic] is      tribuitis] tribuistis      27 alienis] ali-  
 genis      28 hisne] eiusne      29 conditione] conditioni      ut esset] uti sed  
 30 familiaris <sup>Λ</sup> <sup>Λ</sup> que      viuere] dere

1020. 1 illustria] inusitate      3 hisdem in] *al.*      4 <sup>Λ</sup> quos] <sup>Λ</sup> ad  
 5 iam] tam      6 familiares esse] *al.*      7 domina esse] domine esse  
 8 seruis <sup>Λ</sup> <sup>Λ</sup> eius      11 ad <sup>Λ</sup> rem] <sup>Λ</sup> eam      15 acruissimum] acerbissi-  
 mum      16 esinu egremioque] *al.*      17 putauit] puta ut      23 ibi]  
 mihi      25 ut] et      28 ille] *al.*      30 ista] illa

1021. 2 vocem eliciat] eieciat vocem      aliam] illam      3 reuertar]  
 reuertor      sed enim] et enim      6 fuerit] fuerat      paratum] sit] *al.*      7  
 hoc P. Lucinio] huic P. Licinio      8 factum] pactum      9 venirent] veniret  
 Licinium] Licinnium      14 iam iam] *al.*      17 istam] totam      18 suis]  
 his ut      sed <sup>Λ</sup> venenum] <sup>Λ</sup> ut      19 Licinio] Licinnio      constitui] constituit  
 20 dein] deinde      21 venisset] venissent      Licinius] Licinnius      venenum <sup>Λ</sup>  
<sup>Λ</sup> que      24 constituerat] constituebant      26 coicere] coniecere      nec  
 satis commode] quomodo      27 reciperetur] reciperentur      28 permu-

statione] permutatione      29 expectabam] expectabam      31 sit] sint  
32 contruderentur] conducerentur

**1022.** 1 delituerunt] delituerant      2 fingunt] fingitis      4 Licinum]  
Licinnium, *ita semper*      5 atque <sup>^</sup>illo] <sup>^</sup>ex      6 magna vis] magnam vim  
8 ipsam] ipsa      velut] ut      9 fabularum] fabellarum      quam] quod  
10 fuisse non paucos] *al.*      16 istorum] est horum      18 <sup>^</sup>hoc] <sup>^</sup>ad  
20 meliori] magis      24 quem] quam      25 ad se] at      28 mimi ergo  
est etiam exitu] mihi ergo iam exitus      30 deinde scabilla] dein scabella  
32 miserit] emiserit      33 <sup>^</sup>cur non ipsius] <sup>^</sup>cur non comprehenderint

**1023.** 4 reperietur] reperitur      his] illis      6 iudices testis] *al.*      7 <sup>^</sup>iam  
videre primum] *al.* prim. (*sic*)      9 atque in] *al.*      13 quam] quem      15 volent]  
volunt      16 deserti] diserti      17 iudicium] iudicum      commessorum]  
comesatorum      18 lignorum] lychnorum      20 nauent] naueant      21 osten-  
tent] ostendant      26 de] e      29 subleuata] sublata      31 iu rem] *al.*

**1024.** 4 Caelio <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>quidem      non est <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>factum      5 enim] autem  
fortasse adolescente] *al.*      6 non verecundo] inverecundo      9 ab te]  
apte      10 causa iudices] *al.*      13 dissensione] dissessione      17 libi-  
dines et] libidinose      18 M. Camurti] *al.*      O stulticiam] O stultiam stultiam  
20 audetisne] *al.*      tanti flagitii] tantis flagitia      23 stupro sunt] *al.*  
24 afraria] aeraria      reficeretur] referretur      25 est causa] *al.*      26 et  
maleficio] eo maleficio tamen      28 questionis crimen] *al.*      29 nec] neque  
et cum] *al.*      30 dedita disciplinis] disciplina debita

**1025.** 1 instituimur] instruimur      2 is] his      3 maiorum] maior  
velit. Is] vellet. his      4 aequalium studiis] *al.*      nobiles] nobilissimi  
5 roboris] ῥοβοριβ; (*sic*)      6 Africam] Affricam      7 viro] homini      8 erant]  
erat      9 discessit illinc] decessit illi neque      11 veteri] vetere      <sup>^</sup>eorum]  
<sup>^</sup>et      12 viri <sup>^</sup>et clarissimi cives] <sup>^</sup>et clarissimi viri      a P. R.] ad p̄R  
13 eum potius] *al.*      14 sed abiit huius tempus quaerelle] sedaret huius  
temporis querellam      15 C. Antonium] *al.* M.      22 paulum] paululum  
noua] noue      mulieris et] mulieris sit      25 eiciunt] eiciuntur      xubita] qua  
ex vita      29 propulisset] propulset      30 me me hercule inuito] *al.*  
31 <sup>^</sup>sed] <sup>^</sup>me

**1026.** 3 significat] significant      5 a gloria] ad gloriam      6 <sup>^</sup>flores-  
cit] <sup>^</sup>et      7 cui] qui      8 ferocitas <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>pertinacia      aliquid] aliquid  
10 deferuerint] deseruerint      iam ista dies] iam res iam dies      14 quot]  
quod      nostra familiaritate] nostrae familiaritati      15 durissimis se] se duris-

simis iam obligauit] *al.* 16 quod] cum 17 violatam <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> esse ipse  
 esse] *al.* ciuis <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> si 18 datur] patitur esse absolutum <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> esse  
 20 duas] tuas 22 Coelius] Cloelius sit] est 24 P. R.] p̄R  
 27 urbis] orbis 28 inflammandam] ad flammandam hac] ea 29 mu-  
 liebri . . . muliebri] mulieris . . . mulieris 30 fratre <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> si 31 eripuisse  
 et] eripuisset

1027. 2 quem vos] *al.* 4 uestrorum uti] nostrorum vel 6 natura  
 ipsa] *al.* 7 quamquam suo falso] quam suo fato 11-12 vos sed etiam  
 percussisse atque afflixisse] eum verum etiam pfluxisse atque ppsuisse

## ARGUMENTUM MILONIANAE

P. clodius senator seditiosus erat et tyrannicis moribz. Is mltis iniurias fecit. et cedes et incendia et in plerisqz imitatus est Catilinā. Cateruas hēbat circum se ciuium perditoz. Erat aut̄ īmicus miloni .V.C<sup>mo</sup> et bñ m̄ito de Re. p. Repente iḡr milone consule petebat clodius praeturā. Quia iḡr milone consule videbat se fore praetorem. clodius. metuēs uirtutē milofs et sciens quod non morigeraturus sed compressurus sit milo īurias q̄s facere proposuerat. clodius statuit insidiis adgrediendū et dū proficiscitur milo ad lanuuī oppidū collectis seruis suis et latronibz īcepit in via pugnare. milo vero desiluit et ex dextero latere raede repugnabat. Clodius autē cum venisset in altera parte et contendere uidisset seruos milonis Quid cōtenditis inquit cum iam domin' uft̄ occisus sit? serui uero fideles rati reuera eum dixisse mox interfecerūt. postea lelius clodii sodalis satelles quo cum et leges pr̄eturę conscripserat. corpus eius adtulit romam. et plurimum tumultū excitauit. et Globo facto clodianorum. pars curie incensa est. et cedes admissę sūt. atqz insuper reus fit cedis milo; Tum pompegius dictator cauens inuidiā iudices dedit optimos et fortissimos uiros. in quibus domitium pncipem spernentem minas tumultuosoz. et armatos milites circum tribunal constituit vt cū quiete res diiudicaretur. notauerat aut̄ senatus rem cū pompegio et examinari strictius preceperat. quasi contra Rem. p. cędibus cōmissis et incendio . . . et aliis facinoribus qd clodiani pro preiudicio et pro suo auxilio uindicabant quasi iam data sententiā cēt̄ contra milonē ut nō possit locus ēe excusationi. Pro quo .M. Cicero dicens pmū refellit omīa preiudicia et ostendit insidiatū milonem a clodio et cędem iure factā a seruis Milonis . . . . . eum qui por insidias tendisset nihilominus tamen manifesta cędes diiudicata nam . . in exilium missus est Milo sententiā iudicū in thomeas scythiae.

## PRO MILONE

1152. 5 inciderint] inciderunt      7 nam] non *del.*      8 collata] con-  
locata      9 <sup>^</sup>aliquid] <sup>^</sup>terroris      12 nec <sup>^</sup>inter] <sup>^</sup>enim      13 oratori]  
orationi      gn.] CN

1153. 1 illustrissimi] iustissimi      6 ut etiam <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>ut      neque] nec *del.*  
8 neque] nec *del.*      9 intuentes] confluentes      pars fori <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>pars      17 pro]  
prae      21 dilectis] disertis : *al.* delectis      ubi] ut      fortes] fortis *del.*  
32 <sup>^</sup>contra] <sup>^</sup>et

1154. 1 cunctis] conontiis      2 salutem modo] *al.*      5 eius] huius  
8 si] quia      10 sed si] sin      11 saltem nobis] nobis saltim      12 <sup>^</sup>ab  
inimicorum . . . vitam] <sup>^</sup>vitam *del.*      14 rationem] orationem      15 nos-  
trae] vestrae      ea <sup>^</sup>esse] <sup>^</sup>mihi      <sup>^</sup>in senatu] <sup>^</sup>et      16 saepe ab inimicis <sup>^</sup>  
ab improbis] <sup>^</sup>saepe      contione <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>ab improbis      17 errore *ex* terrore *corr.*  
*m.* 2 venit] veniat      18 fas esse] *al.*      19 <sup>^</sup>occisum] <sup>^</sup>esse      26 in  
concione seditiose] *al.*      27 respondit] responderit (?) *del.*      Opimius <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>h d

1155. 1 causa <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>etiam      6 defenderet] defenderit      7 sit] st *del.*  
8 gladium nobis] *al.*      14 scelere] sceleris      15 uex] nex *del.*      18 nata]  
ex nata *del.*      verum etiam] *al.*      21 vim <sup>^</sup>in] <sup>^</sup>et      23 expect.] expect.  
*ita mox*      iubent] volunt *del.*      33 cedem <sup>^</sup>qua] <sup>^</sup>in

1156. 8 quod] quae *del.*      9 quam <sup>^</sup>aut propter] <sup>^</sup>propter magna in re  
p. merita mediocris in bonis causis auctoritas      22 illa] ulla      23 dies  
in quo] *al.*      24 Gaius] C.      quod arma] *del.*      e] est      26 <sup>^</sup>Appia]  
<sup>^</sup>via      30 intuentibus] ut veteribus : *al.* ut tuentibus      32 omnium <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>me  
33 inepta] empta

1157. 1 gra] CN      4 at patet] apparet *del.*      5 vidit <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>igitur  
7 nec] neque      tam salutarem hanc] *al.*      12 dicit ipse] *al.*      13 putet]  
putarit      14 tempori] tempore      15 nostri iudicis] *al.*      16 viri <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>  
<sup>^</sup>M.      17 consultus <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>est      18 in hac urbe fuisse] fuisse in hac urbe  
19 allata] inlata      20 <sup>^</sup>gemuit] <sup>^</sup>in      25 iisdem penis] eisdem et penis  
26 quis] qui      27 P. Clodi] *al.*      28 suorum <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>sit      saepe ab istis] ab  
istis sepe      29 muniuerit] munierit      31 eq. R. <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup>Claudius

1164. 11 Vibienus] viuienns      14 intentata] intenta      15 istam]  
ista      monumentum] monimentum      18 simile] esse simile (?) *del.*      23 egre-

gio] <sup>^</sup> <sup>^</sup> et viro fortissimo 26 cum] quo 29 ad quod] at quod *del.*  
 31 illius publici] *al.*

1165. 2 cohortatus] <sup>^</sup> <sup>^</sup> est 3 de me decretum Capuae fecit] decretum  
 de me Capuae fecisset 4 concurrerent] concurreret 6 quem <sup>^</sup> tum]  
<sup>^</sup> qui 9 P. Clodio] *al.* Gn. <sup>^</sup> Pompeium 15 tenebris] tenebras  
*del.* 16 Antoni vero] Marci vero Antoni 18 in saepta] vi cepta ruis-  
 set] inrupisset curavisset] curasset 22 querela] querella 23 iniquo]  
 in quo *del.* 26 sollicita cupiditas] sollicita sit (?) cupiditas *del.* 28  
 quae obscure quae] *al.* fictam falsam] falsam fictam leuem 29 enim est] *al.*  
 32 <sup>^</sup> recte] <sup>^</sup> in

1166. 3 quin se] qui se ille *del.* 4 audacie est] est audacie 15 cogi-  
 taret <sup>^</sup> Quem] <sup>^</sup> vos potestis dubitare quid fecerit 19 dixi <sup>^</sup> <sup>^</sup> fuit 23 causa  
 solum] solum causa 25 potuit <sup>^</sup> quod] <sup>^</sup> primum quaero qui scire potuerit  
 26 T.] Titum 27 illo die ipso] *al.* 29 omnes] homines Clodii <sup>^</sup> ]  
<sup>^</sup> reditu 31 atque Arrius] ut Arrius 32 C. Causinius cognomine  
 Scola interamni] Ausinius Scola intermanianus familiaris meus et] familiarissi-  
 mus et

1167. 1 comes item] item comes ei obuius] *al.* 8 meum <sup>^</sup> <sup>^</sup> quoque  
 10 dicerent] diceret *del.* 11 videlicet me] *al.* et perdit] ac perdit  
 12 iacent] iaceant hi qui] ii qui 13 auditum] audisset fuisse 15 <sup>^</sup> ne]  
*al.* <sup>^</sup> igitur 17 e] ex dicitur] dicatur *del.* 18 nuntiasset. <sup>^</sup> Nam] <sup>^</sup> sed  
 Milonem adpropinquare 20 testamentum <sup>^</sup> <sup>^</sup> Cyri cum Clodio] *v. l. del.*  
 23 postridie] postpridie decima <sup>^</sup> <sup>^</sup> denique 24 causa <sup>^</sup> <sup>^</sup> fuit con-  
 ceret] coiceret 25 erat nihil] *al.* 27 amittet] amitteret 29 expe-  
 tendus] expectandus nocte] noctu 30 subsistendum] subsidendum  
 fuit. <sup>^</sup> Nemo] <sup>^</sup> noctu occidisset insidioso et pleno latronum in loco occidisset  
 32 hoc crimen] *del.*

1168. 1 denique] tum 2 deinde ubi] *al.* 3 rea citaretur] re agitare-  
 tur 4 ad <sup>^</sup> Albanum] <sup>^</sup> sua in 5 illum Milo] *al.* 7 neque] nec  
 ne <sup>^</sup> in] <sup>^</sup> ille 8 nec] neque inferenda] ferenda 13 denunciatam palam  
 Miloni et praedicatam] *al.* 16 tulisse <sup>^</sup> <sup>^</sup> se 17 nullius rei hunc]  
 hunc nullius rei *del.* 24 versabatur] *m. 2 in textu (-tur in ras).* 25  
 valentium <sup>^</sup> <sup>^</sup> edito 27 legerat] elegerat potius expectandum] est potius  
 exspectatus 28 iudices ipsa] ipsa iudices 29 audiretis] audiritis *del.*  
 videretis] videritis *del.* 30 cogitaret mali] *al.* 32 impeditissimum]  
 impeditum

1169. 3 vesperi] vespere 5 villa] villam miles] millies 7 age]

a es (?) *del.* 8 non in] nisi in 17 illum] ipsum 18 perire]  
interire 21 peruehebat] proiciebat 25 extremis eius] *al.* 33 hoc]  
hic inuenire] inueniri

1170. 10 fuerunt] fuissent 11 habet] habes 16 nulla <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> lege  
17 de interitu] incesti 18 accessit Clodius] Clodius accessit 20 posset]  
possit 21 indignum esse] *al.* domini] dominis *del.* 23 heu tu Visio  
ubi causa] heus tu Rufio verbi causa 24 mentiaris] mentiare 29 posset]  
potest

1171. 1 senatui <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> commisit neque senatui 2 ei] eius 4 num-  
quam <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> se hic 5 audienti] audenti 13 nonnullorum <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> etiam  
18 romani populi] p̄r 31 frenorum pilorumque] *al.* 32 iudicabatur]  
indicabatur 33 Miloni conducta non] non Miloni conducta

1172. 1 dico] dicam hi] ii tota commissa est res p.] commissa tota r||  
(*in marg. exsecto*) est 3 sit] fuerit Lucinius] Licinius 4 esse] se *del.*  
<sup>^</sup> Pompeio] <sup>^</sup> Cn. 5 deinde] dein 10 putari] probari verum etiam]  
*al.* ut <sup>^</sup> intelligo] <sup>^</sup> ut (*sic*) 12 aliquid vos] vos aliquid 13 et] ac  
per multas] *al.* 15 praestantissima] praestantissimum 16 <sup>^</sup> tota] <sup>^</sup> pro  
suspecta] suscepta 20 falsa] false insidiosa] insidiose 22 enim  
iam] *al.* 26 dictitant] dictitarunt 28 armata est] armata sunt 29 insti-  
tuta] constituta 32 partes] partis *del.* 34 Miloni locus] locus Miloni  
et probatus] probasset] *al.*

1173. 2 illa <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> ipsa peste <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> se 7 insedisset] inhesisset nullo  
ut] *al.* 9 ille] iste 10 est et <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> esset attestaretur] ante testaretur  
11 vide] vides 13 amicis] amicitiiis 15 aliquando ille] *del.*  
17 debemus scire] *al.* 24 iudicandis] vindicandis 25 satis falso] *al.*  
Milonem] Milone 26 absolvi <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> a vobis oporteret] oportet 27 liceret]  
licet in illo] illo 30 ut vos eum] ut vuum 31 posset] possit

1174. 13 populus Romanus] p̄r 14 iudicabant] iudicabant 16 plu-  
ribus] plurimis <sup>^</sup> singulari] <sup>^</sup> in 18 nec . . . nec] neque . . . neque  
27 splendidissimo] splendido 28 Pacanio] Paconio <sup>^</sup> insulam] <sup>^</sup> sibi  
29 materiam] materiem

1175. 1 arma] harenam domino <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> que 3 enim <sup>^</sup> de] <sup>^</sup> ego  
Sanctia] Scantia adol.] adul. 4 dico] dicam minitatus] minatus *del.*  
5 esse] esset 7 conflagitandum] conflagrandum 12 equaliter] equa-  
biliter 13 iam usu] *al.* 16 si ille] *al.* exteras] externas 17 fece-  
ratis] faceretis *del.* mitteret] inmitteret 18 pecunias <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> pecunias  
20 hec putatis] *al.* 21 nota <sup>^</sup>] <sup>^</sup> sunt 22 tantam] totam 26 ferro]

freno ceruicibus  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  vestris 27 equitas  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  in ciuitate pudicitia in  
 çiuitate] *al.* enim] esset 28 quonam modo] *v. l. del.* 31 affecisse]  
 affecisse et 32 nequeo] non queo 34 attulit laetitiam] *al.*

1176. 1-5 nihil horum . . . P. Clodio vivo] *om. in textu, add. m. 2 in  
 calce paginae (habet codex l. 3 hoc summo sine ipso, 4 fractis, 5 igitur est)*  
 9 inimicitarum mearum] *al.* 15 enim sunt] sunt enim *del.* cogitationes  
 vestrae] nostrae cogitationes *del.* 16 cernimus] cernamus 17 possim]  
*v. l. del.* (? possum id *vel* iã) 19 affecerat] afficeret qui] quos 20 quid]  
 quod 22-24 aut ipsum . . . amicitiam] *om. in textu, add. m. 2 in mg.*  
 24 auocare] euocare 26 eadem lege] *al.* 27 lata lex] ista lex lata  
 28 non esset] si esset 32 immortalitatem] immortalitatis

1177. 1 sed  $\wedge$  ad]  $\wedge$  etiam 2 eț magno] *al.* 3 certe ei] esset  
 verum et] sed etiam vere 8 si] sin 9 cuique] cuiquam 10 ceci-  
 disset  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  et 12 ingratus  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  potius 13 omnes fuimus] *al.* 15 con-  
 tribuenda] ipsi tribuenda esset ip̄si] *al.* 21 meritos bene] *al.*  
 24 Hahala] *al.* 25 si] sin tum] tamen 29 numenve] numenque  
 30 vestri] nostri neque sol] nec sol eț signorum  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  que 32 maiorum  $\wedge$ ]  
 $\wedge$  nostrorum 34 et est profecto illa vis] est e illa vis profecto 36 eț  
 non] *al.* tam  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  que 39 aut] ac ea vis est igitur] ea vis igitur ipsa

1178. 2 quae illam] *al.* çui primum] *al.* 6 religiones] regiones *del.*  
 mehercule] mehercules 8 enim  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  iam 10 populi Romani] PR.  
 12 vestrae  $\wedge$  religiones]  $\wedge$  tum 13 Latialis] laciari 14 lacus] l̄ççş (*sic*)  
 20 acceperit] acciperet 24 ac] atque 26 concedere etiam inimici]  
 cedere inimici etiam ețiam abiectus] *al.* 27 deterrimo] teterrimo ali-  
 quid  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  decoris 30 mihi] medius] *del.* 31 hanc rem p.] hac re p.

1179. 1 se a iudicibus palam] palam se a iudicibus 7 Italia] et alia  
 8 nostris seruis] seruis nostris 9 nichil erat] n||| (*marg. exsect.*) erat  
 10 putabat] putaret 11 illum Milonem] *al.* nouo] gñ (*sic*) in gratiam]  
 gratia 12 deuictum] deuinctum potentiam suam poțentiã] *al.* 14 deđe-  
 runt] illi perduto ac furioso  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  dederunt 20 in eo] *al.* 21 virtutem  
 consularem crudelissime necatum] virtutem consularem crudelissime vexatam  
 meminisset  $\wedge$ ]  $\wedge$  oppressisset 23 Clodianis] Cloelianis *del.* fecisset] efecisset  
 26 at] an consularis] consul 29 Clodio] Cloelio *del.* 31 urbis]  
 orbis curia] curiam

1180. 3 ab inferis] *m. 2 in ras. in textu: mg. a mortuis* 4 sustinetis]  
 sustinuistis 6 populum Romanum] PR 7 Celius] Caecilius 8 vir  $\wedge$ ]  
 $\wedge$  et in re p. eț in suscepta] *al.* 9 eț auctoritati] *al.* in hac] *al.* 10 eț





plus multa erunt vestigia sententiarū qm̄ sine studiis. Et rati-  
onem interest iud. id qd̄ ego multa ceptus mandibus agere ut  
q̄ p̄ferri esse. kalō Januario in Re: p. duo consules. Volue archi-  
teci iudicioribus consilia auerſantē dīaē aut non levī impro-  
ba non pernicosa laegronum audiam aliquando aliquo d̄ malū  
rei. p. quæritur. mita sunt in hac ciuitate consilia iud. Verbi d̄.  
lenſe animum tructandorum nominē romani vsingenti d̄ anḡ ha-  
ac quæ sing. inquam sic eos hoc nomine appellati s̄ḡ est de patria  
sua et cognate et conuenerit. Hocia ego condie consilia occurre  
audaciam delitio saleri vestio: sed monce iud. in enim iam t̄ mo  
consilio nolite mihi subreahere viciarium micæ. Diligenter voli-  
te adinere cum aui rom. p. capio trudere molimen ab his tantis  
periculis defendendam. Nōq̄ ad hac mala iudicia quid aere ac  
aliud non vidonā. t̄ t̄ appello Cato nome p̄oſp̄ia temp̄na t̄  
amī tui iam enim hæſerua conaone inenit̄. <sup>PERITIA</sup> <sup>PERITIA</sup>  
designauit collegæ tui contra quem multum tua mens multum  
omne t̄oni p̄reuidetur quire ad vbiuam p̄taonem d̄cauerit.  
Omnia que p̄r hoc triennium agitata sunt iam ab eo tempore quo  
N. x. factura et. Cn. p̄ſone initum consilium ſenato interfecti.  
ſas aſſe in hoc die q̄ in hoc mensa in hoc tempus et cum p̄r qui  
locus est iud. quod tempus qui dies quæ nox ann ego non q̄ſto  
inſidū ac micenit̄ non ſolum meo sed multo quam magis di-  
uino consilio criſparatq̄ cholom neq̄ ista me meo nomine interſa  
sed Vigilantem consilium de rei. p. p̄aſidio demouere voluit  
nec minus vellent Cato te quoq̄ aliqua ratione ſpoſſent tolle-  
re id qd̄ mihi exode et agunt et moluntur vident quantum  
interſ ammi q̄ntum nigenū q̄ntum auctoſitatis quantū rei  
p. p̄aſe ſibi ſam consilium auctoſitate et auxilio ſpohā tam  
vni teſtibus dām viderint tum ſe ſalutis merum et d̄bulatū  
te oppuſſicos architanter nūm. <sup>ne ſufficit̄</sup> consil non t̄nit̄  
vident in tua potestate collegæ fore ſperant ſibi Sclanū d̄vū  
victum sine collega te. sine consule rem p. sine p̄aſidio obia  
poſſe. his t̄nitis in rebus tantisq̄ in periculis est nūm. v̄. a.  
to qui mihi non tibi ſi patetac natura eſſe v̄. d̄. quid agitur  
retinere adiutorium deſenſorem ſatum in re. p. consilium nō  
capitum consilium quod maxime tempus hoc p̄oſulat ſerua  
conſactum ad implemandum otium ſacra ad bellum grecū

mita sit

quæſing

incredibili] *al.* 15 aspexisti] aspexeritis 18 omnium] hominum  
 21 seruare] seruari 25 valeant cives mei] *al.* merita de me erit] *al.*  
 ciues mei] *al.* 28 per] propter *del.* 29 re p. bona] bona re p. *del.*  
 30 bene moratam] beneioram 31 suscepti mei] *al.*

1181. 1 equitibus R.] quibus romañ 4 non futurum in patriam]  $\wedge$   $\wedge$  non  
 8 et] atque 10 eodem]  $\wedge$  illo 11 fecisset] fecerit circumspicienti-  
 bus pericula] *al.* 13 nostra] vestra 15 deliniret] deleniret 17 nostras]  
 vestras 18 nostrorum] vestrorum 19 fortuna dederit] *v. l. del.*  
 secum]  $\wedge$  se 20 sibi vocem] vocem sibi desiderat] desiderarit 22 hec]  $\wedge$   
 $\wedge$  arma 30 esse hanc] hanc esse 32 homines in celum] in celum  
 homines 35 suis] meis 36 tamen omni in] *al.*

1182. 2 sunt]  $\wedge$  ea 4 versatur] versabitur 5  $\wedge$  habitabit]  $\wedge$  hic  
 8 illa] ista 9  $\wedge$  eriperis]  $\wedge$  mihi tamen] saltem his] eis 12 sed  $\wedge$   
 optime]  $\wedge$  semper 14 cepit] ceperit 15 si  $\wedge$  me]  $\wedge$  in capite]  $\wedge$  potius  
 18 O ti Anni] *al.* 21 communione] communionem 22-23 si que . . .  
 si que] si qua . . . si qua dimicatio]  $\wedge$  capitis 24 quid] quod *del.*  
 25 non recuso non abnuo] *al.* 27 iubeatis] uideatis *del.* 28 mouetur]  
 commouetur 30 sed] sit ornatus est] qua natus est *del.* 32 in terris  
 ullus] *al.* 34 sanguinem] sanguinis

1183. 4 habes] abes me  $\wedge$  non]  $\wedge$  ne 6 gentibus]  $\wedge$  a quibus  
 7  $\wedge$  his]  $\wedge$  ab acquirunt] adquierunt 8 quodnam]  $\wedge$  ego 9 iudicia]  
 indicia 10 in me meosque] mihi meisque *del.* 11 illo fonte] *al.*  
 18 ante] potius 19 iudices conseruandum virum] *al.* 20 poenas]  $\wedge$   
 $\wedge$  ille 21 hiccine] hic ne 23 ullum] nullum 27 possum]  
 possumus (?) *del.* 29 sentietis] sentitis 30 probabit] comprobavit  
 31 sapientissimum]  $\wedge$  et fortissimum legit] delegit



cupidum confidem quod maxime tempus hoc postulat festā  
constitutum ad amplectendum otium. Saena ad bellum gressu



Codex Paris. 14,749, olim S. Victoris, copied from Clun. 496  
(Cicero, pro Murena, §§ 79-83)

Line 2, *magis* . . . *at* is omitted by W (Wolfenbüttel. 205)

incredibili] *al.* 15 aspexistis] aspexeritis 18 omnium] hominum  
 21 seruare] seruari 25 valeant cives mei] *al.* "merita de me erit] *al.*  
 ciues mei] *al.* 28 per] propter *del.* 29 re p. bona] bona re p. *del.*  
 30 bene moratam] benemoram 31 suscepti mei] *al.*

1181. 1 equitibus R.] quibus romañ 4 non futurum in patriam]  $\wedge$  non  
 8 et] atque 10 eodem]  $\wedge$  illo 11 fecisset] fecerit circumspicienti-  
 bus pericula] *al.* 13 nostra] vestra 15 deliniret] deleniret 17 nostras]  
 vestras 18 nostrorum] vestrorum 19 fortuna dederit] *v. l. del.*  
 secum]  $\wedge$  se 20 sibi vocem] vocem sibi desiderat] desiderarit 22 hec]  $\wedge$   
 $\wedge$  arma 30 esse hanc] hanc esse 32 homines in celum] in celum  
 homines 35 suis] meis 36 tamen] omni in] *al.*

1182. 2 sunt]  $\wedge$  ea 4 versatur] versabitur 5  $\wedge$  habitabit]  $\wedge$  hic  
 8 illa] ista 9  $\wedge$  eriperis]  $\wedge$  mihi tamen] saltem his] eis 12 sed]  $\wedge$   
 optime]  $\wedge$  semper 14 cepit] ceperit 15 si]  $\wedge$  me]  $\wedge$  in capite]  $\wedge$  potius  
 18 O ti Anni] *al.* 21 communiōne] communionem 22-23 si que . . .  
 si que] si qua . . . si qua dimicatio]  $\wedge$  capitis 24 quid] quod *del.*  
 25 non recuso non abnuo] *al.* 27 iubeatis] uideatis *del.* 28 mouetur]  
 commouetur 30 sed] sit ornatus est] qua natus est] *del.* 32 in terris  
 ullus] *al.* 34 sanguinem] sanguinis

1183. 4 habes] abes me]  $\wedge$  non]  $\wedge$  ne 6 gentibus]  $\wedge$  a quibus  
 7  $\wedge$  his]  $\wedge$  ab acquirunt] adquierunt 8 quodnam]  $\wedge$  ego 9 iudicia]  
 indicia 10 in me meosque] mihi meisque *del.* 11 illo fonte] *al.*  
 18 ante] potius 19 iudices conseruandum virum] *al.* 20 poenas]  $\wedge$   
 $\wedge$  ille 21 hiccine] hic ne 23 ullum] nullum 27 possum]  
 possumus (?) *del.* 29 sentietis] sentitis 30 probabit] comprobauit  
 31 sapientissimum]  $\wedge$  et fortissimum legit] delegit



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